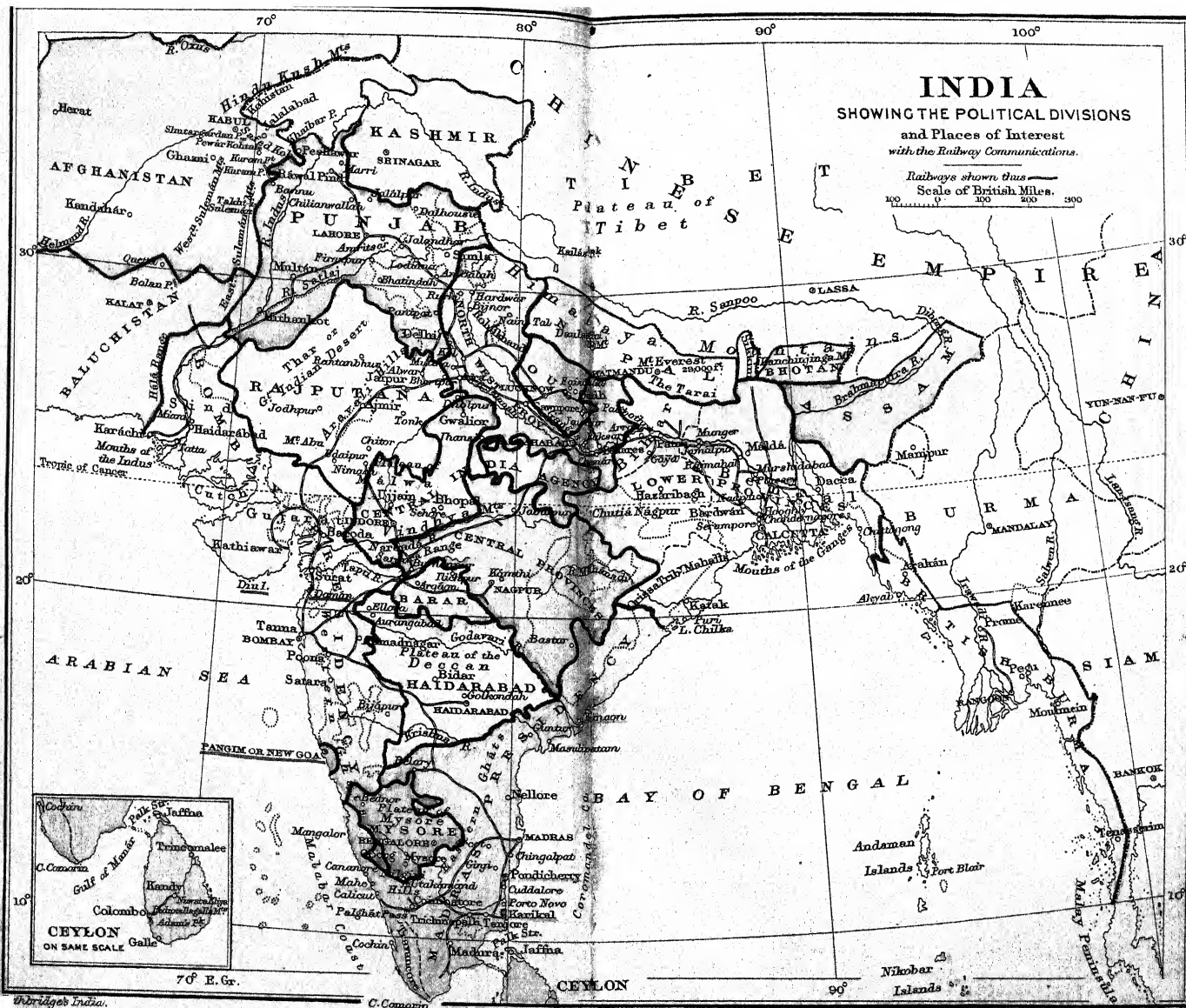


THE
HISTORY OF INDIA.

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A SHORT MANUAL
OF THE
HISTORY OF INDIA.)

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

INDIA AS IT IS;

THE SOIL, CLIMATE, AND PRODUCTIONS; THE PEOPLE, THEIR RACES,
RELIGIONS, PUBLIC WORKS, AND INDUSTRIES; THE CIVIL
SERVICES, AND SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION.

BY

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WITH MAPS.

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1881.

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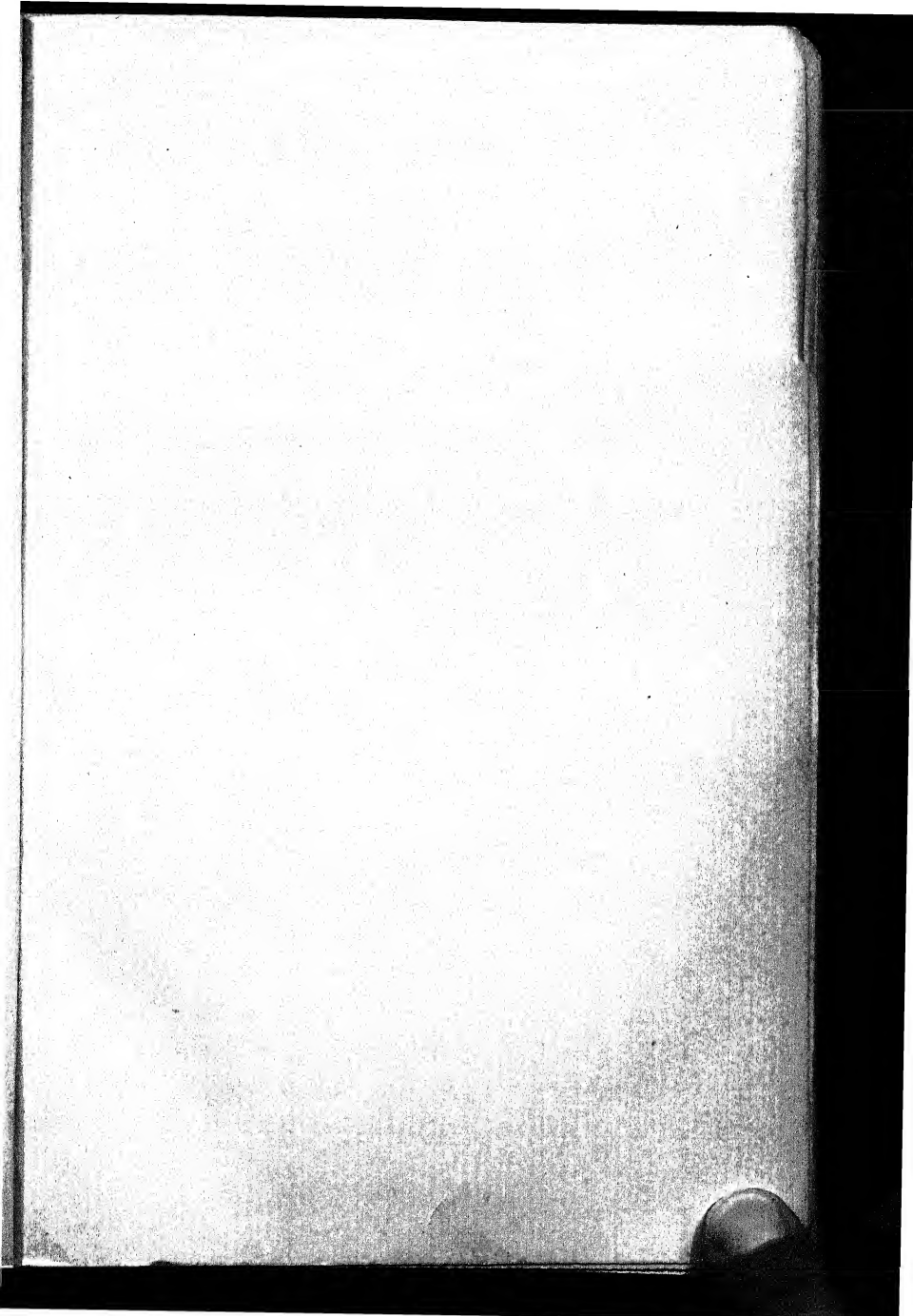
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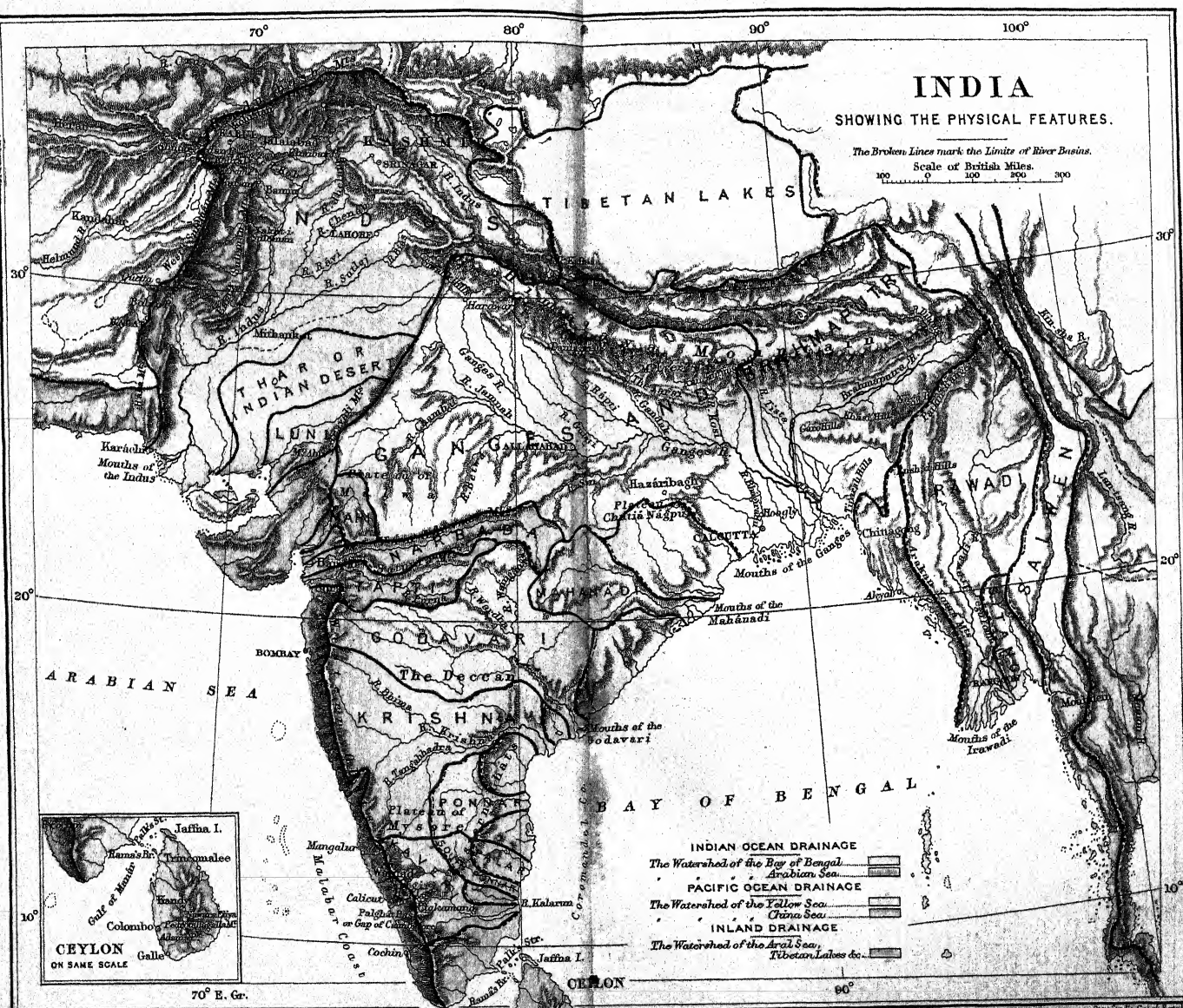
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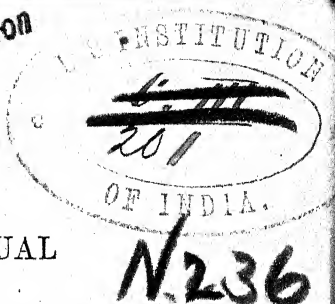
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United Service Institution
of India.



A SHORT MANUAL
OF THE
HISTORY OF INDIA.

INTRODUCTION:—INDIA AS IT IS.

PART I.

THE LAND AND ITS PHYSICAL FEATURES.

§ 1. Extent. § 2. Hindustan and the Deccan. § 3. Physical Divisions of Northern India. § 4. The Himálaya and Sulemán Mountain-Zones. § 5. The Plains of Northern India. § 6. The North-Eastern Valleys. § 7. The Málwa Plateau. § 8. Physical Divisions of Southern India. § 9. The Plateau of the Deccan and Mysore. § 10. The Western Maritime Fringe. § 11. The Eastern Maritime Fringe. § 12. Ceylon. § 13. British Burma. § 14. Coast-line and Harbours.

§ 1. Extent.—India may be described roughly as the country which lies north and south between the Himálaya mountains and the Great Indian Ocean. From the port of Káráchi in the extreme west, to the eastern borders of Assam, is a distance of about 1,800 miles; a like distance separates Cape Comorin in the south from the northern extremity of the Punjab; and the area included between these limits has been estimated at about 1,500,000 square miles. India thus extends from the 8th degree of north latitude to the 37th; and from the longitude of 66° 44' to that of 99° 30' east of Greenwich.

British Burma, comprising the maritime provinces of

the Transgangetic Peninsula (or Further India) which are contiguous to India, and the Andaman and Nikobar Islands, belong to India politically, but not geographically. The rich and important Island of Ceylon, on the other hand, belongs to India geographically, but not politically; it is an English Crown Colony, and is administered by a Governor under the Colonial Office.

§ 2. *Hindustan and the Deccan.*—India Proper, then, as above defined, consists of the Indian Peninsula, which is the central peninsula of Southern Asia, with the adjacent part of the Asiatic continent as far north as the Himálaya Mountains.

In the northern part of the peninsula, and just south of the Tropic of Cancer, a chain of highlands runs across nearly from sea to sea. It is the most important water-parting in the country; the waters to the north draining chiefly into the Narbadá and the Ganges, those to the south into the Tapti, the Mahánadi, and some smaller streams. Its general direction is from west by south to east by north. In the west, between the basins of the Narbadá and the Tapti, it is called the Sâtpurá range; on the eastern side it becomes merged in the plateau of Chutia Nágpur and Hazáribagh in Bengal. It will be seen hereafter that the western portion of this chain is also the boundary between two important sections of the Indian people, between the Hindi-speaking and the Maráthi-speaking races. For all these reasons, it is convenient to regard this chain of highlands as the division between Northern and Southern India, which are often called Hindustán and the Deccan respectively.

NOTE.—It should, however, be remembered that the terms 'Hindustan' and 'the Deccan,' as commonly used, are ambiguous. Hindustan is sometimes used by European geographers to indicate the whole of India; whilst on the other hand the meaning of the term in India is sometimes restricted to those regions in the upper Gangetic valley which are occupied by Hindi-speaking races. When opposed to 'the Deccan,' it means broadly 'Northern India,' as opposed to 'Southern India'; but the boundary is sometimes placed at the Narbadá river, sometimes as we have placed it above, and sometimes at the Vindhya

range (which is a minor escarpment bounding the Narbadá valley on the north). So, too, 'the Deccan' is sometimes restricted in its meaning to the territory forming the northern portion of the great plateau of Southern India, and sometimes applied specially to the Feudatory State ruled by the Nizám of Haidarabad, nearly coincident with that territory. In ancient Indian writers, the boundary between Hindustan and the Deccan is uniformly placed at the Vindhya range; but Professor H. H. Wilson was of opinion that the term Vindhya was anciently applied to the Sátpurá range and its continuations, not to the modern Vindhya north of the Narbadá.

§ 3. **Physical Divisions of Northern India.**—Northern India consists mainly of a vast plain, which includes (1) the basin of the Indus, and the *Thar* or Great Indian Desert on the west; (2) the basin of the Ganges and its tributaries in the centre and east; and (3) two valleys in the far east, which form the basin of the Brahmaputra and its affluents. This plain is flanked on the north and west by mountain-zones, called respectively the Himálaya and the Sulemán ranges.

On the south of some portions of the western and central divisions of this plain is the great plateau of Malwa and Bághalkhand, which is separated from the central mountain-axis (the Sátpurá and other ranges) by the valley of the Narbadá.

§ 4. **The Himálaya and Sulemán Mountain-Zones.**—These ranges, the northern and western boundaries of Northern India, meet nearly at right angles in the upper corner of the Punjab. Both are, however, the interrupted serrated barriers of tablelands which form part of the great east-and-west mountain-system of Europe and Asia; and geologically they are of the same structure, and comparatively of recent (middle and later tertiary) formation.

From the gorge of the Indus in east longitude 72° to that of the Dihong (chief affluent of the Brahmaputra) in east longitude 95° 30', a distance of 1,400 miles, the Himálaya is an unbroken watershed of an average height of 19,000 feet. Its northern slopes are drained by the upper streams of these two rivers, which rise within a

hundred miles of each other, near the great peak of Kailás (22,000 feet), and flow north-west and south-east respectively until they succeed in breaking through the mountain-zone, and find their way, the Indus to the Arabian Sea near Karáchi, the Dihong or Brahmaputra to the bay of Bengal, in the great Gangetic Delta. The southern slopes of the Himálaya are drained by the Indus and its tributaries (one of which, the Sutlej, rises far within the mountain-zone) in the west, by the Ganges and its system in the centre, and by the Brahmaputra in the east. Its highest peak is Mount Everest, 29,000 feet.

Compared with the very gradual slope of the Himálaya range on its northern side towards the lofty plateaux of Tibet, the descent on the southern side towards the plains of Hindustan is sudden and great. Still the distance from the first outer hills to the central range is rarely less than eighty miles direct, and often much more. There is thus ample space within the mountain-zone for innumerable valleys of greater or less size; such are the famous valley of Kashmir, and the valleys forming the states of Nepal, Bhotán, Sikkim. Along the base of the outer hills there is a damp and generally malarious belt of jungle, called the Tarai, inhabited chiefly by wild beasts. The rainfall is much heavier in the eastern than in the western parts of the Himálayas, consequently the forests on the slopes in Sikkim and Bhotán are very dense, and the vegetation generally very luxuriant, whilst the slopes of the western Himálayas are more thinly clad with forest, and naked precipitous crags are of constant occurrence.

West of the point at which the Sutlej bursts through the outer ranges, the Himálaya loses the chain-like linear character it has to the east, and breaks up into many sub-parallel and intersecting ranges of great elevation in the wild border highlands between Kashmir, the Punjab, and Kabul, as far as the Indus.

West of the Indus, from the Hindu Kush on the north (which separates Kabul proper from Central Asia) as far

south as the Bannu district of the Punjab, the western mountain-zone is of the same character, though of somewhat less general elevation. The Safed Koh is a lofty range running nearly east and west from the neighbourhood of Pesháwar to that of Kabul; it is therefore nearly at right angles to the axis of the western mountain-zone. On each side of this range runs one of the great passes leading to Kabul; that on the north, along the ravine of the Kabul river, being called the Khaibar; that on the south, partly following the course of the Kuram river, being called the Kuram, with the famous ascents of the Pewár Kohtal and the Shutargardan Pass.

From a point nearly opposite Bannu to one nearly opposite the confluence of the Indus and the Sutlej, the Sulemán range runs nearly north and south, parallel with the Indus, and separating the plains of the Punjab from the Kabul plateau and Sewistan. Its highest peak, the *Takht-i-Sulemán*, or 'Solomon's Throne,' is under 12,000 feet. Southward the range becomes less elevated, until at length it turns westward, to bound the plain leading up to the Bolan Pass, the great military and commercial road to Quetta, Kandahár, Herat, and Western Asia generally. From this pass southwards the Hálá range, *en échelon* with the Sulemán, and from 3,000 to 7,000 feet in height, bounds the highlands of Kalát and Balochistán, and skirts the valley of the Indus almost to the sea. All this country is nearly rainless, and is swept by the dry winds from the deserts of Balochistán and Persia, and would be uninhabitable but for irrigation drawn from the Indus or its tributaries.

§ 5. The Plains of Northern India.—The vast plain of Northern India consists of the Indus Valley, the *Thar* or Great Indian Desert, and the Gangetic Valley. These divisions run into each other without visible interruption; for though the waterparting between the two great rivers is at an elevation of from 800 to 1,000 feet above sea-level at its highest point somewhere north of Delhi, yet the slope on each side is so gradual as to be imperceptible.

The western part of this plain consists of the alluvial valley of the Indus and its tributaries; the saline swamps of Cutch (*Kach*); the rolling sands and rocky plains of the desert, which covers much of Sind, the south of the Punjab, and Western Rájputána; and the south-easterly margin of this desert in Rájputána, which is less sterile, because it receives more rain and is watered by the Luni. We shall see hereafter that the whole of this region is dry, and some of it almost rainless.

At Mithankot the Indus receives, as a tributary, the collected waters of the Five Rivers, from which the Punjab (*Panj-áb* = Five waters) takes its name. These rivers all rise in the Himálaya, and flow south-west through the Panjáb. These, commencing with the most southerly (which is also the greatest), are the Sutlej, the Biás, the Rávi (on which is Lahore), the Chenáb, and the Jhelam (which drains Kashmir). The plains of the Panjáb slope insensibly from north-east to south-west, from the Himálaya towards the sea. The strips between the rivers are called *Doabs*, and consist of *Bángar* land and *Khádar* land. The *Khádar* is the fertile fringe of the river below flood-level—within which the river often alters its course from year to year, sometimes deviating many miles from its old channel. The *Bángar* is the higher land between the rivers, generally arid and sterile, and often bare or covered only with coarse scrub—though in the northern and less dry portion of the Punjab it bears luxuriant crops of wheat.

The water-system of the Ganges drains an area of 391,000 square miles (the area of the Indus valley being less by some 20,000 square miles). The Ganges leaves the Himálaya near Hardwár, and flows to the bay of Bengal, in a direction generally south-east, its course being about 1,500 miles. The *Jamuná*, or Jamnah, joins it at Allahabad, and above that point has a fair claim to be considered the main stream. Agra, Muttra (*Mathurá*), and Delhi are on its banks; and the highly fertile tract of land

between it and the Ganges is called 'the Doab,' *par excellence*. The most important of the other tributaries of the Ganges are—on the south side, the Chambal from Malwa, the Betwá from Bhopal and Bundelkhand, and the Son from Central India; on the north side, the Gumti from Oudh, the Ráptí, Gandak, and Kosi from Nepál, and the Tistá from Sikkim. The great Gangetic Delta commences at a point near Murshidabad, below which the courses of the various channels have for ages been shifting. Below this point the present main stream is the Padmá, still sometimes called Ganges; whilst the ancient main stream is now a much smaller one called the Bhágirathi, which joins some others to form the Hooghly, on which Calcutta is built. The Gangetic Delta with the contiguous delta of the Brahmaputra forms the marvellous network of rivers for which Eastern Bengal is famous.

§ 6. **The North-Eastern Valleys.**—Eastward from this network of rivers, two alluvial plains stretch up between the wild ranges of mountains that connect the Himálayan system with that of the Burmese peninsula. The more northerly one is that of the Brahmaputra, called Assam; it is long and narrow, and is bordered on the north by the Himálaya, on the south by the lower plateau of the Gáro, Khási, and Nágá hills. The other valley is that of Cachár and Silhat—short and broad, and in part occupied by swamps; it separates the Gáro, Khási, and Nágá hills from those of Tiparah and the Lushai country. The Assam valley, one of the homes of the tea-plant, is almost a perfect flat, with clumps of little conical hills scattered over the plains and rising abruptly to the height of 200 to 700 feet. A large number of rivers flow through this plain to join the Brahmaputra, and the rainfall is very heavy.

§ 7. **The Malwa Plateau.**—The great plateau of Málwa and Bághalkhand occupies the space intervening between the Gangetic plain on the north, the semi-fertile fringe of the Great Indian Desert (the part watered by the Luni) on the north-west, the valley of the Narbadá on the

south, and the valley of the Son (a tributary of the Ganges) on the south-east. Its slope is almost entirely northward, from the Vindhya mountains, its southern wall, to the Gangetic plain. With the exception of a small area in the south-west, which drains into the Mahi (an insignificant river falling into the gulf of Kambay), the whole drainage of the plateau is into the Ganges. Its north-west and west wall is formed by the Aravali mountains, which cross Rájputána from its south-west corner to the neighbourhood of Delhi; the highest peak, Mount Abu, is over 5,000 feet. The surface of the plateau is an undulating plain with occasional hills, the highest of which does not exceed 2,500 feet.

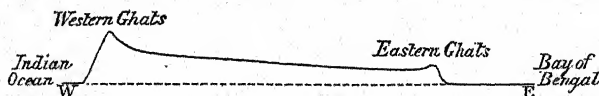
Intervening between this plateau and the central mountain-axis of the Sátpurás, is the long narrow valley of the Narbadá, which flows from east to west into the Arabian Sea, or Indian Ocean, at Baroch.

§ 8. **Physical Divisions of Southern India.**—India south of the Sátpurás is a triangular peninsula, its base being the Sátpurá mountains and their continuations, its apex at Cape Comorin, its eastern side resting on the bay of Bengal, called the 'Coromandel Coast,' and its western side resting on the Indian Ocean, called the 'Malabar Coast.' The whole of the interior of this country is a vast plateau, the plateau of the Deccan and Mysore, somewhat in the shape of a triangle, whose base and sides are parallel to those of the triangle of Southern India. Fringing this plateau are, on the north-west, the valley of the Tapti; on the west, the narrow belt of hot, moist, and somewhat rugged country between the Western Gháts and the Indian Ocean; on the east, a belt (generally much broader, but varying greatly in breadth) of hot, low country between the Eastern Gháts and the bay of Bengal; whilst on the south, beyond the apex of the triangle, is a hilly region extending to Cape Comorin.

§ 9. **The Plateau of the Deccan and Mysore.**—The combined valleys of the Tapti and its affluent, the Purna,

intervene, in the western and central part of the peninsula, between the Sâtpurâ mountain-axis and the Deccan plateau. They are occupied by the fine plains of Khândesh and Barâr, having a soil famous as the black 'cotton soil.' At the head of the Purna valley the plains of Barâr pass without perceptible interruption into those of the tributaries of the Godâvari, which extend far down that river, and form one slope (the lowest portion) of the Deccan plateau. Eastward, nearly as far as the Orissa coast of the bay of Bengal, is an immense extent of mountainous country, drained by the Mahânadi and its affluents, and comprising a large portion of the Central Provinces, the southern portion of Chutiâ Nâgpur, and Orissa. The main stream of the Mahânadi only emerges from these hills through a narrow gorge near Cuttack (*Katak*), just above the head of its delta, which forms part of an alluvial plain extending to the delta of the Ganges.

The Western Ghâts are the western barrier of this plateau, and the Eastern Ghâts, a lower and less continuous chain, are the eastern barrier. As may be inferred from the fact that the great rivers of the peninsula rise near the Western Ghâts, and flow eastward *through* the line of the Eastern Ghâts, the general slope of the country is from the Western Ghâts eastward to the bay of Bengal, with a more or less sudden drop at the line called the Eastern Ghâts. Hence a vertical section of the peninsula from west to east, from the Indian Ocean to the bay of Bengal, would be somewhat as under :—



The basin of the Godâvari and its tributaries (of which the chief are the Wardha and the Wainganga) coincides with a broad depression in the Deccan plateau, which slopes gently from Nâgpur (1,000 feet high) to the sea. Another broad depression is caused by the basin of the

Kistna (or *Krishna*) and its great affluents, the Bhima and the Tangabhadra, and this depression separates the southern plateau of Mysore (with Bangalore at a height of 3,000 feet) from the northern plateau of the Deccan proper. The central part of the plateau, except where under field cultivation, is a bare grassy country, with a gently undulating surface, and occasional ridges of rocky hills or clusters of bold isolated peaks, and the general appearance of the rugged Krishna valley is of very similar appearance.

A little to the north of Madras the Eastern Gháts trend off to the westward, bounding the plateau of Mysore, and at their junction with the Western Gháts rises the bold triangular plateau of the Nilgiri Hills, the highest point of which, Dodabetta, is not less than 8,640 feet above the sea.

South of the Nilgiris is a broad depression called the Pálghát Pass, or Gap of Coimbatore. This depression, which is only 1,500 feet high at its highest point, connects the low country forming the eastern fringe of the peninsula with that forming the western fringe, and separates the highlands of the Nilgiris from those of Travancore and the southern corner of India.

The plateau of Mysore is drained by three small rivers (called the Ponnar, the Palar, and the Southern Ponnar) on the east, and on the south by the Káveri (or Cauvery), which also drains the Nilgiris. The Káveri flows into the bay of Bengal by two arms, of which the northern one is called the Kalarun (or Coleroon).

§ 10. The Western Maritime Fringe.—The narrow strip of low country that fringes the peninsula below the Western Gháts is called Malabar in the south and the Konkan in the north. It varies in width from twenty miles to fifty miles. It is well watered by short streams from the Gháts, and is somewhat rugged, being much intersected by short spurs of that range. The rainfall being heavy and the climate hot, the forests are dense and the vegetation characteristically tropical.

§ 11. *The Eastern Maritime Fringe.*—On the east side of the peninsula the fringing plain is generally very much broader, though for a short distance near Madras it is only thirty miles across, and is still narrower near Vizagapatam. In its southern part it is called the Carnatic. South of Madras it occupies from one-third to one-half the width of the peninsula, and runs up the valley of the Káveri to the foot of the Nilgiri hills, where it is 2,000 feet above the level of the sea. It includes the alluvial deltas of the Káveri, the Krishna, the Godávári, and the Mahánadi, as well as nearly the entire basins of some smaller rivers, such as the Ponnar and Palar. Whilst it contains some of the hottest districts in India, it is generally highly productive. The rich district of Tanjore on the Káveri Delta owes its remarkable fertility to an elaborate system of irrigation.

§ 12. *Ceylon.*—The island of Ceylon lies south-east of Cape Comorin, its west coast being in the same longitude as the east coast of the Indian peninsula between Negapatam and Pondicherry. The sea that separates Ceylon from India is called the Gulf of Manár on the south and Palk's Straits on the north; it is almost bridged by a chain of coral reefs and islands (called Ráma's or Adam's bridge), which practically closes all the channels against navigation, though attempts have been and are still being made to open the Pámban channel. The northern half of the island is a plain still much covered by forest. The central part of the southern half is occupied by a lofty table-land, the home of the famous coffee plantations of Ceylon, with peaks which rise to more than 8,000 feet, and on their western face are clad with dense forest except where cleared for coffee cultivation. The eastern part of the plateau, sheltered from the monsoon (see § 50) by the loftier hills, consists of open rolling grassy downs, with forests in the hollows and valleys. To the south and west of this central plateau the country is rugged and hilly down to the coast. The loftiest peak is *Pedrotallagalla*

(8,260 feet), which is close to the sanitarium of *Nuwara Eliya* (6,200 feet), a fairly level plain of some miles in circuit, enjoying a cool but moist climate. Another hill, famous for its Buddhist temple and the imprint of Buddha's foot, is *Adam's Peak* (7,420 feet). The difficult ascent is annually made by large numbers of Buddhist pilgrims.

§ 13. **British Burma.**—This outlying province of the Indian Empire occupies the fine maritime districts of the peninsula of 'Further India.' It is about 1,000 miles in length from north to south, but, being in parts very narrow, its area is not much more than 88,000 square miles. Its leading physical features are comparatively simple. From beyond the upper end of the Assam valley, a series of sub-parallel or slightly diverging ranges of mountains run out to the southward. Of these, the westernmost range is called the Patkoi, and separates Assam from Independent Burma. Further south, one of the continuations of the Patkoi range is called the Arakán Yoma; this range forms the boundary of Arakán, the northern province of British Burma, and separates the basin of the Iráwadi from those of the many small streams that water the narrow Arakán territory.

The delta of the Iráwadi forms, with its fertile lower basin, the rich province of Pegu, the central district of British Burma, famous for rice and teak-timber. The valley of the Iráwadi consists of plains intersected by low isolated hill-ranges, generally running north and south.

The Arakán Yoma or coast range dips into the sea at Cape Negrais, but is continued in the Great and Little Coco Islands, the Andamans, and Nikobars.

The Iráwadi basin is bounded on the east by the Pegu Yoma, which is a lower range than the Arakán Yoma, never exceeding 2,000 feet in height within the limits of British Burma. East of this range is the narrow valley of the Salwen, and the province of Tenasserim, the third and most southerly division of British Burma, consists of the

delta of this river, with a long narrow strip of maritime territory running out southward, and bounded by the mountains of Siam on the east.

§ 14. **Coast-line and Harbours.**—The coast-line of India is on the whole unbroken, affording few good harbours. Calcutta is one of the most dangerous ports in the world, being 80 miles up a winding river, with barely 20 feet of water at low tide at many points, and the channel narrow and intricate. Madras is only an open roadstead, with a beach famous for its lines of surf, and all the ports on the Coromandel Coast, from the Hooghly to Cape Comorin, are of a similar character. In Ceylon there is the first-class harbour of Trincomalee, which is the dockyard of the Royal Navy in the East, but it is situated in an inaccessible and unhealthy part of the island. Galle, at the southern extremity of Ceylon, has a good though somewhat dangerous harbour; it is the coaling station and port of call for all the great ocean steamers on the 'overland' lines to Madras and Calcutta, as well as to Singapore and the Indian Archipelago, China, Japan, and Australasia. Colombo, on the western coast of Ceylon, is healthily situated, and is the natural outlet of the important export trade of Ceylon. At present it is only an open roadstead, but a breakwater is nearly completed which will largely increase its value as a harbour. On the Malabar coast are several valuable harbours—Cochin, Calicut, Mangalore; but they do not command the commerce of any extensive tract inland. Bombay is a very fine harbour; the Portuguese are said on this account to have altered its native name (Mombai or Mámbe) into *Buon-bahia*, 'good harbour'; and being connected by rail with all parts of India, its commercial importance is very great indeed. Surat, the natural port of the Tapti, and Baroch, that of the Narbadá, cannot shelter large vessels during the summer monsoon. Next to Calcutta and Bombay, the chief commercial port of India is now Karáchi. It is situated at the north-west corner of the delta of the Indus, and being the nearest port to Europe,

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and being now connected by rail with the Punjab and Upper India, it is fast rising in importance.

Eastward of Calcutta is the port of Chittagong in East Bengal; it is only available for small vessels and only valuable as an outlet for the rice of that region. The ports of British Burma are Akyab, Rangoon at the mouth of an arm of the Iráwadi, and Moulmein at the mouth of the Salwen.

The coast of Malabar and Travancore is fringed with sand-spits, inclosing 'backwaters,' which are so connected as to afford a very complete system of inland navigation.

PART II.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND PLACES OF INTEREST.

§ 15. Modern Political Divisions. § 16. Bengal and Assam.
§ 17. The North-West Provinces and Oudh. § 18. The Punjab.
§ 19. Rájputána. § 20. The Bombay Presidency. § 21. The Central India Agency. § 22. The Central Provinces. § 23. The Barárs.
§ 24. Haidarabad. § 25. The Madras Presidency. § 26. Mysore and Coorg. § 27. Himalayan Frontier States. § 28. North-West Frontier States. § 29. Foreign European Settlements. § 30. Ceylon.
§ 31. British Burma. § 32. Ancient or Popular Divisions of India.

§ 15. **Modern Political Divisions.**—India at the present day, in regard to its political constitution, may be regarded as a Federation of Governments and States; all in more or less direct subordination to a central Supreme Government embodied in 'the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council,' representing Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, Empress of India.

Some of these Governments are directly administered by British officers, immediately subordinate to the Supreme Government of India. These Governments constitute what is commonly called **BRITISH INDIA**. They are now nine in number, comprising an area of about nine hundred and forty thousand square miles, and containing a population of about one hundred and ninety millions. In these provinces

the head of the Government is called, in some a Governor, in others a Lieutenant-Governor, in others a Chief Commissioner, and in one exceptional case (Barar) a Resident. The precise meaning of these terms will be explained hereafter (*see* Introduction, Part vii.); it is here sufficient to note that they in no way indicate the relative size or importance of the provinces, and only refer to the relative amount of independence of the Supreme Government in matters of detail enjoyed by the respective officers. The provinces of British India are: (1) the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal (with which is temporarily reunited the Chief-Commissionership of Assam, only severed from Bengal in 1874); (2) the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-West Provinces, with which is permanently united the Chief-Commissionership of Oudh; (3) the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab; (4) the Governorship of Bombay; (5) the Chief-Commissionership of the Central Provinces; (6) Barar; (7) the Governorship of Madras; (8) the Chief-Commissionership of British Burma. To these may at present be added (9) the Chief-Commissionership of Mysore and Coorg; but the State of Mysore has only been provisionally administered by a British officer, and is about to be placed directly under the rule of the Maharájá of Mysore.

NOTE.—British India was formerly divided into the three Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras. These divisions are now almost entirely obsolete; they only survive in the nominal divisions of the Indian Civil Service and Army.

The other States of the Indian Empire are ruled by native princes, under the protection and general control of the Supreme Government. These States are bound by treaties, in return for this protection, to render certain feudal services to the Paramount Power; as, for instance, in some cases, to furnish a certain number of troops in time of war. The princes are usually autocratic or nearly so within their own limits; but by their engagements to the Paramount Power they are generally bound to good

government, and to submit the conduct of their external relations to the Imperial Government. Including all the petty feudatories, there are no less than 460 such States in various parts of India, comprising an area estimated at 600,000 square miles, and containing a population estimated at 50,000,000. The intimacy of the relations with the Paramount Power varies in the different States. In the more important a British officer, called a Resident or a Political Agent, is stationed, whose functions broadly are, to act as the medium of communication between the Prince and the supreme Government, and to advise the Prince in matters of moment.

In this sketch we can only notice a few of the most important of the Native States. Those that are attached to the Governments of Bengal, the North-west Provinces, the Punjab, Bombay, and Madras, will be briefly noticed in the several accounts of those Governments. The others fall into five geographical groups: (1) Rájputána; (2) the Central India Agency; (3) Haidarábád; (4) the Frontier States of the northern mountain-zone (Bhotán, Sikkim, Nepál, Kashmir); (5) the Frontier States of the western mountain-zone (Kábul or Afghanistán, Khelát or Balochistan).

Altogether outside the federation of the Indian Empire are a few petty French and Portuguese settlements, which will be noticed separately.

§ 16. Bengal and Assam.—The Chief-Commissionership of Assam consists of the two north-eastern valleys (those of the Bráhma-putra, and of Cachar and Silhat) described in § 6, with the intervening and adjacent hill tracts. Gauháti on the Brahmaputra is at present the chief town of Assam; but the seat of the Government is at Shillong, the highest peak of the Khási hills (6,450 feet). Cherrapunji, on the southern face of the Khási hills, is famous for the heaviest recorded rainfall in the world (more than 500 inches per annum). It is instructive to note that Shillong, being on the lee side of the same range, has

a very moderate rainfall, averaging not much more than one-tenth of that of Cherrapunji.

West and south-west of Assam is the great Lieutenant-Governorship of BENGAL, the largest and by far the richest and most populous province of India. It consists of (1) Bengal Proper, including the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, with the adjoining tract of country at the north-east corner of the bay of Bengal (as far as the frontiers of Arakan in British Burma), and the lower valley of the Ganges; Bihár, higher up the Ganges; Chutiá Nágpur, which is the hilly country south of Bihár and west of Bengal; and Orissa, which lies south-west of Bengal, and stretches down for a little way along the upper coast of the peninsula of India, as far as the Madras frontier. The Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal is sometimes called the *Lower Provinces of Bengal*, or simply the *Lower Provinces*. The seat of government is at Calcutta (population about 500,000), which is also, during the five months of cold weather, the seat of the Supreme Government of India—Simla, in the Punjab Himálayas, being the seat of the Supreme Government during the seven months of hot weather.

The following are the chief places of interest in Bengal :—

1. **Bengal Proper.**—In the district of the twenty-four Parganas, *Calcutta*. In Nadiyá or Kishnaghur district, *Nadiyá* (Nuddea), the old Hindu capital of Bengal, and the seat of the Sanskrit learning of the province; and *Plassey* or *Pulási*, the scene of Clive's victory. In the Hooghly or Hugli district, *Hooghly*, the site of some of the earliest Portuguese, Dutch, and English settlements; *Serampore* (or *Srirámpur*), formerly a Danish settlement, and long famous as the centre of a great missionary work; *Chandernagore* or Chandernagar, still a French settlement; *Sátgón*, once the capital of Bengal, now a small village close to Hooghly. In the Murshidábád district, Murshidábád (formerly called *Makhsusábád*), once the capital of the Nawábs of Bengal, and still the residence of their descendants, who are pensioners of the British Government; *Kasimbázár*, the site of one of the earliest British settlements. In the Máldá district, *Gaur* or *Lakhnauti*, the ancient capital of the early Muhammadan kings of Bengal, now in ruins. In the Burdwan district (and close to the border of Chutiá

Nágpur), *Rániganj* (or Raneegunge), having the most important coal-mines in India: it is a great station on the East Indian Railway. In the Dacca district, *Dacca* (*Dháká*), called by the Muhammadans Jahángirnagar, in honour of the Emperor Jahángir, in whose reign it became the residence of the Mughul Subahdárs of Bengal; contains 70,000 inhabitants, and was formerly the seat of the most famous manufacture of fine muslins; near Dacca are the ruins of *Sunárgáo*n, once a capital of Eastern Bengal. In Chittagong district, *Chátgáo*n or *Chittagong*, a port, called by the Muhammadans, Islámábád.

2. Bihár.—In Patna district, *Patna*, the ancient *Palibothra* or *Pátaliputra*, capital of the empire of Magadha, still contains 160,000 inhabitants, and has a most important situation, being both on the main line of railway from Calcutta to Delhi, and also on the Ganges near its junction with the Son. In Gayá district, the sacred city of *Gayá*, famous for its Buddhistic remains; Buddhist pilgrims flock hither from all parts to visit the tree under which Buddha preached, whilst Hindu pilgrims come to adore the impress of Vishnu's foot on a rock. It may be noted that Bihár was the cradle of Buddhism, and contains many remains of Buddhist monasteries—whence its name, *Vihára*='monastery.' In Shahabad district we have *Arrah*, renowned for its gallant defence at the time of the Mutiny; *Baksar* (or *Buzar*—the word has the accent on the penultima), where Munro defeated Mir Kásim and the Nawáb Vazir of Oudh in A.D. 1764; *Chausa*, at the confluence of the Karamnása and Ganges, where Sher Sháh defeated Humáyun in A.D. 1539; and *Rohát*s, a famous hill-fortress near the Son, 1485 feet high. In Munger (or *Monghyr*) district is *Munger*, 'the Birmingham of Bengal,' with a considerable iron manufacture; and *Jamálpur*, a great railway depôt. In the Santál Parganas is *Rájmahal* (formerly *Akmahal*), where the last Afghán King of Bengal was defeated and killed by Akbar's army in 1676; and *Teliagarhi*, formerly a famous fortress, reckoned the 'key of Bengal.'

3. Chutiá Nágpur.—This mountainous province was formerly called *Jharkhand*, or 'Jungle Land'; it is mainly populated by aboriginal or Dravidian tribes, as the Kols, Oraons, and others. It was never thoroughly conquered by the Muhammadan power, and at the present time contains many petty tributary chieftaincies in the more remote hill-country. *Hazáribágh* is a military station, and reputed the coolest and healthiest station in the Lower Provinces. The highest peak of this hilly land is *Parisnáth*, a sacred hill of the sect of the Jains, 4,500 feet.

4. Orissa.—The western portion of Orissa, abutting on Chutiá Nágpur and the Central Provinces, is a wild mountainous region, in which is lost the central mountain-axis separating Northern from

Southern India. In these mountains there are nineteen petty tributary chieftaincies. The district is called 'the Orissa Tributary Mahalls'; the inhabitants chiefly belong to the wild aboriginal tribes—amongst whom the *Kandhs* were until recently infamous for their human sacrifices called *Meriah*.

The rest of Orissa is alluvial, and much of it swampy. In the south is Lake Chilka, which receives one of the arms of the Mahánadi. As the whole of the upper course of the Mahánadi is through mountainous country, where the mountain torrents rise rapidly after rain, the delta of that river is liable to violent inundations. The province possesses no good port, and owing to this and to the wild and rugged nature of most of its inland frontier, it has always been much isolated—which caused great destruction of life in the great Orissa famine of 1866, from the difficulty of getting supplies from outside. The chief and only large town is *Katak* (or *Guttack*); when Akbar built the fort of *Atak* (or *Attock*) on the Indus, *Katak* and *Atak* (the names rhyming) were always spoken of as the opposite extremities of the Mughul empire. *Puri* or *Jagannáth* is famous for its temples, whither thousands flock every year at the festival when the sacred *Rath* or 'Car of Jagannáth' is moved. Of late years the authorities have taken great precautions to prevent the practice of self-immolation under the wheels of this famous car.

The three provinces of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa are often called in the Muhammadan histories the 'three Viláyats,' or countries. By natives Bengal is called either *Bangálá* or *Banga Desh*, the country of *Banga*. Anciently, Bengal west of the Hooghly was called *Rárá*; north-central Bengal, *Varendra*; north-eastern Bengal and west Assam, *Kámrup*; south Bihár, *Magadha*; north Bihár, *Mithila* and *Kosala*.

The whole of the southern belt of the delta, including an area of more than 5,000 square miles on the sea-face of Bengal, is a dense swampy jungle called the *Sundarban* (or *Soonderbund*), intersected by innumerable arms of the Ganges, and highly malarious. These swamps are full of tigers, alligators, and other *feræ naturæ*, but are otherwise almost uninhabited. Steamers going up to Calcutta from the sea pass along the western boundary of this desolate region.

At the other extremity of Bengal, on a spur of the

Sikkim Himálaya, more than 7,000 feet above sea-level, is the delightful sanitarium of *Dárjiling*. A railway, broken only by the Ganges, now connects the foot of this mountain with Calcutta; so that in the hottest time of the year, a climate like that of England in summer can be reached by a Calcutta resident in less than two days.

For the Railways of Bengal, see Introduction, § 63.

There are many Native States attached to or adjoining Bengal and Assam, in the northern and eastern mountain-valleys, and in the hilly regions of Chutiá Nággpur and Orissa, but there are none of great importance. The chief are *Manipur*, between Assam and Independent Burma, east of Cachár; *Hill Tiparah*, south of the Silhat valley; and *Koch Bihár*, adjoining the Darjiling district in the sub-Himálayan country.

The total area of the territories belonging to or connected with Bengal (including the Chief Commissionership of Assam) is about 240,000 square miles; the population is about 67,000,000. On the banks of the Hooghly and in North Bihár the rural population is probably more dense than in any other country of the world, reaching in some parts to an average of 1,000 to the square mile. It may be noticed that these provinces comprise about one-sixth of the area, and contain about one-third of the population, of the whole of India; or, to put it in another way, that they contain about double the area and nearly double the population of all the Queen's European territory.

§ 17. *The North-West Provinces and Oudh*.—West of Bihár, and further up the valley of the Ganges, is the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-West Provinces, to which is now (since 1877) added the Chief-Commissionership of Oudh. The Lieutenant-Governorship includes the provinces of Benares and Gorákhpur, adjoining Bihár; those of Allahabad, Agra, and Míráth, following one another successively as we go higher up the valleys of the Ganges and its great feeder, the Jamnah; Jhánsi, south of Agra and Allahabad; Rohilkhand, stretching north of

Agra towards the Himálaya mountains; and Kumáon, a hill-district on the spurs of the Himálayas north of Rohilkhand. The North-West Provinces are about one-third the size of the Lower Provinces, and contain about one-half the number of people. They were made into a Lieutenant-Governorship in 1834; the seat of government was at first placed at Agra, but now is at Allahabad. North of these provinces, and nearly shut in between Rohilkhand on the west and Gorákhpur on the east, is the small but rich and populous province of Oudh, which stretches from the Ganges on the south to the Nepál slopes of the Himálaya on the north.

Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, and formerly the seat of the Nawabs of Oudh, is the largest town in India after Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras—containing a population of 300,000. The ex-Nawáb of Oudh now lives at Garden Reach, near Calcutta—close to the point at which Calcutta passengers land from the 'Peninsular and Oriental' steamers. *Lucknow* (*Lakhnau* = *Lakshmanávatí*) is said to have been so called by Ráma in honour of his brother Lakshman (*see* Chapter i.). In Eastern Oudh is the site, with extensive ruins, of the famous old city of *Ayodhyá* or *Audh*, the birthplace of Ráma, near the modern town of *Faizábád*.

Cawnpore (or *Kanhpur*), on the Ganges, in the Allahabad division, will always be associated with the sad memories of the Mutiny: the 'Memorial Well' marks the scene of the massacre. Cawnpore is the seat of the greatest leather manufacture in India—Cawnpore saddles, harness, &c., being fairly good in quality and very much cheaper than English, are used to some extent throughout the country: it is also a great military cantonment, and an important railway station as the junction of the 'East Indian' and 'Oudh and Rohilkhand' railways. Allahabad (the ancient *Práyag*) is also a great railway station [*see* Introduction, § 63].

Benares (or *Káshi*), on the Ganges, with population of 200,000, is a sacred city of the Hindus; in the Benares division is also *Jampur*, formerly the capital of a Muhammadan kingdom [*see* Chapter xi.], and *Chanár*, a famous hill-fort. *Agra*, on the Jamnah, was the capital of the Pathán and Mughul empires, superseding Delhi, from the time of Sikandar Lodi to that of Sháhjahán: it contains many interesting and imposing buildings of that era—especially the famous *Táj*, the mausoleum of Muntáz Mahall or 'Táj Bibi,' wife of the Emperor Sháhjahán. Near Agra are (1) *Fathpur Sikri*, where Bábar defeated Ráná Sangá

in 1527, and crushed the reviving Rájput power; (2) *Chandwá*, now called Firuzábád, where Muhammad Ghori defeated Jaichand of Kanauj in 1194, thereby securing the Muhammadan conquest of Hindustán; (3) *Samogar*, where Aurangzeb defeated his brother, Dárá Shikoh, in 1658; and (4) *Sikandra*, visited for the tomb of Akbar. The division of *Rohilkhand* was called *Sambhal* and *Badáon* in Mughul times; it derives its modern name (the land of the Rohillas) from the Rohilla Afgháns, a sept of the Yusufzai Afgháns, who settled here in the eighteenth century [see § 32 and Chapter xv.]: it still includes within its boundaries the native State of the Nawáb of Rámpur; there is also *Bijnor*, famous as the scene of Kálidása's great drama *Sakuntalá*. In the same division is *Kanauj* (originally *Kanyakubja*), which was mentioned by Ptolemy in A.D. 140, and was for centuries one of the chief Hindu capitals of Northern India, but is now in ruins; it was the scene of Humáyun's final defeat by Sher Shah in 1540. *Mathurá* or *Muttra* is also in the Agra division, a great Hindu city, sacred (with the neighbouring *Brindávan*) as the scene of Krishna's exploits; it was sacked by Mahmud of Ghazni, and many of its temples destroyed by Aurangzeb. *Jhánsi* is an outlying division, in Bundelkhand, the country of the Bundela Rájputs; it lapsed to the East India Company in 1854, notwithstanding the opposition of its martial Ráni, and is famous as the scene of the exploits of that princess in the Mutiny. In the Mirath division is *Mirath*, the scene of the outbreak of the Mutiny, the fortress of *Kol* (Koll) or Aligarh; *Hardwár* (where the Ganges issues from the mountains), visited by many pilgrims, and the scene of a great pilgrim-fair every twelfth year; *Rurki*, where is the chief Engineering College of India; and *Masuri* and *Landaur*, two hill-stations. In the Himalayan division of Kumáon is *Naini Tal*, a cool hill-station, whither the Government of these provinces generally go for the hot weather.

The NATIVE STATES attached to this Government are the Rohilla State of Rampur, already noticed, and the Himálayan State of Garhwál in Kumáon. The North-West Provinces are so called, though in the centre of Northern India, because they formed the north-west portion of the old Bengal Presidency before the annexation of the Punjab. Including Oudh, they comprise an area of about 110,000 square miles, and contain a population of about 42,000,000.

§ 18. The Punjab.—Proceeding from Agra up the valley of the Jamnah, we come to the city and province of

Delhi, which is now (since the Mutiny) annexed to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab. The Punjab Proper is formed by the upper valley of the Indus and its great tributaries, which includes many mountain valleys (Kángrah, Pesháwar, &c.) running up into the Himálaya and western mountain-zones. The tract between the Indus and the western mountain-zone is called the *Deraját*. The tracts between the rivers are called Doábs, the name of each being formed by a sort of crasis between the names of the bounding rivers—thus the *Bári* Doáb lies between the Biás and Rávi, the *Rechná* Doáb between the Rávi and Chináb, the *Jach* or *Chaj* Doáb between the Chenáb and the Jhelam, but the country between the Indus and the Jhelam is called the *Sindh-ságar* Doáb.

East of the lower Sutlej and Indus, and including part of the great desert on the side of Sind and Rájputána, is the extensive but thinly populated native State of Bháwalpur, under a Muhammadan Nawáb. And there are many other highly important native States attached to the Punjab Government, of which the chief are: (1) Kashmir, occupying the famous valley in the Himálayas, with a large tract of wild territory on the trans-Himálayan Indus; (2) the Sikh State of Kapurthálá, between the Biás and the Sutlej; (3) the Cis-Sutlej States, of which the most important are Patiálá, Jhind, and Nabhá—the Mahárájás of these three states are Játs, and are descended from a common ancestor called Phul, whence the States are sometimes called the Phulkian States. Besides these, there are a large number of Hill States, situated in or adjacent to the valleys of the Himálaya, of which the chief are Sirmur, Biláspur, Bussahir, and Nalagarh; and in the western mountain-zone there are an immense number of semi-independent and more or less wild tribes of Patháns (or Afgháns) and Balochis, ruled by their own headmen, and sometimes owning a nominal subjection to the Amir of Kabul or the Khán of Khelát.

The places of historical interest in the Punjab are very numerous.

In the Delhi division is *Delhi*, whose historical associations are too many to be here recounted; and (north of Delhi) *Panipat*, where were fought no less than three of the great critical battles of Indian history, in 1525, 1556, and 1761. In the Ambálah division, *Ambálah* (or *Umballa*), a great military cantonment, and the railway-station for Simla, where Lord Mayo received the Amir Sher Ali of Kabul in 1869; *Thánéswar*, where Muhammad Ghori defeated Prithvi Rájá in 1192, and near it the village of *Tirádori* (where Prithvi first defeated Muhammad Ghori, in 1191), and the field of *Kurukshetra*, where the great battle of the *Mahábhárata* was fought; near Lodiána (named after Sikandar Lodi) are *Máchhiwára* (where Humáyun's general, Bairám Khán, defeated the Afghán troops of Sikandar Sur in 1555), and *Aliwál* (where Sir Harry Smith defeated the Sikhs in the first Sikh war, 1846). In the Jálándhar division is *Kángrah*, formerly called *Nagarkot* or *Bhimnagar*, a famous hill-fort. In the Amritsar division is *Amritsar*, the sacred city of the Sikhs. In the Lahore division is *Lahore* (formerly *Luháwar*), the capital of the province, with the great neighbouring military cantonment of *Miánmir*; and (south of the Sutlej) *Firuzpur* (a great arsenal), *Bhatindah* (sacked by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1001), *Firuzshahr* or *Ferozesháh* (from the Persian *shahr*, a town), and *Mudki*, famous for Gough's victories over the Sikhs in December 1845, in the first Sikh war. The Ráwalpindi division was the scene of the most interesting incidents of Alexander's Indian campaign; it nearly corresponds with the ancient kingdom of *Taxila*, the city of Taxila having been situated near Hasan Abdál; near the present site of Jalálpur, on the Jhelam, Alexander built his city of *Boukephala*; and on the other side of the Jhelam, near the modern *Chilianwallah*, he built the city of *Nikaia* to commemorate his victory over Porus. Close at hand, in the same district, are the two great battle-fields of Lord Gough in the second Sikh war, *Chilianwallah* and *Gujarát*. Far away to the south, in the Multán division, between the Chenáb, Rávi, and Sutlej, is the historical city of Multán.

The Punjab, being one of the most recent acquisitions of the Indian Empire, and being the great frontier province, has a very large garrison of English and native troops; there are consequently many large English military stations. From the nature of its frontier it is also rich in hill-stations, such as *Simla*, *Marri* (or *Murree*), *Dalhousie*, *Dagshai*, *Sabáthu*, all of which enjoy a delicious climate; on the other hand, some of the Punjab stations in the south are, perhaps, the hottest in India. The province is connected with Calcutta, Bombay, and the rest of India, by the 'Sind, Punjab, and Delhi' Railway, which runs into the great 'East Indian' line below Delhi. It has just been connected with Karáchi by the 'Indus Valley' line, and in this way its

line of communication with England is now shorter than that of any other Indian province except Bombay. The total area of the province, including the attached feudatory States, is 219,000 square miles: its total population about twenty-three millions.

§ 19. *Rájputána*.—South of the Punjab and west of the North-West Provinces is the great group of Native States called *Rájputána*, or the country of the *Rájputs*. It consists of eighteen feudatory States, governed each by its own ruler (under the protection of the Supreme Government) as a Prince of the empire. The Supreme Government is represented by Residents or Political Agents in the various States or groups of States, and all these British political officers are subordinate to 'the Agent of the Governor-General for *Rájputána*,' who resides at Mount Abu in the south-west, and who is immediately responsible to the Supreme Government. There is also one district (*Ajmer* and *Merwára*) which is directly administered by British officers, and which in fact belongs to the North-West Provinces.

The Aravali Hills form a diagonal of *Rájputána*, from north-east to south-west. North and west of this line the country is more or less desert, though with many comparatively fertile patches, becoming more and more sandy and rocky to the north-west, where it forms part of the Great Indian Desert. East and south of the Aravalis the country, though much more fertile, is on the whole hilly, until the plains of *Bhartpur* are reached, where *Rájputána* joins the North-West Provinces. It will be seen hereafter that the fastnesses of these hills and deserts were the refuge of some of those tribes and dynasties that had been dominant in the great empires of Northern India before the Muhammadan conquest: thus, the *Maharáná* of *Udaipur*, the head of the *Sesodia* sept of the *Gehlot* clan of *Rájputs*, is the direct representative of the *Gehlot* princes of *Vallabhi*, in *Káthiwar*, who ruled an extensive empire in *Gujarát* from the beginning of the fourth to the end of the sixth century of the Christian era: and the *Mahárájá* of *Jodhpur* or *Márwár* is in like manner the representative of the *Ráhtor* princes of *Kanauj*. When the dominant *Rájput* clan lost its dominion in the fertile districts of *Hindustan*, the whole or a part of the clan usually marched off westward and carved out a new and poorer lordship in *Rájputána*. There they have retained their clanship, their hold on the land, and their semi-feudal institutions, to the present day; and

from the development of the States thus formed, or from sections or offshoots of them, all the chief Rájput States of Rájputána derive their origin. In them the land is held by the clan; political status is measured by kinship with and purity of descent from the original conquerors; and the prince rules as the head of the clan. There are, however, three non-Rájput States—Bhartpur and Dholpur being Jats, and Tonk being Muhammadan: all these have had a modern origin—the Nawáb of Tonk is the descendant of the Pindári leader Amír Khán, who was guaranteed this principality by the Marquess of Hastings, on his submission in 1817.

Rájputána contains about 130,000 square miles, and about ten millions of inhabitants; that is, it is about half the size of Bengal, but does not contain much more than one-seventh of the number of inhabitants. Besides the people of Rájput descent, who form the aristocracy owning (and often also cultivating) the land, there are many other cultivating tribes or classes, of whom the Játs and the Gujars are the most numerous. In the last century nearly all the banking trade of Northern India was in the hands of natives of Rájputána, called by the name *Márwáris*; and wealthy and enterprising Márwáris are still to be found as bankers and merchants in most of the large towns. There are also in Rájputána a large number of more or less uncivilised aboriginal tribes [see Introduction, Part iii.], of whom the chief are the *Bhils*, forming a large proportion of the total population in some of the wilder parts of the country. And there are some tribes that claim to be descended from a mixed parentage, partly Rájput, partly aboriginal, of whom the best known are the *Mers* or *Mhairs*, from whose numbers an excellent corps of the British Indian army has been recruited.

Jaipur is a large and handsome city; and that State (whose Mahárájá is the illustrious chief of the Kachwáhá clan of Rájputs, and a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council) has always taken a prominent part in Indian history, and is at the present time one of the most progressive parts of Native India. In the Jaipur State are situated *Amber*, the former capital; and *Rantanbhur*, an historical fortress. In Maiwár or Udaipur, is *Udaipur*, the present capital of the Maháráná of Udaipur, who is called the 'Sun of the Hindus,' and is regarded as the prince of highest lineage in India: his palace is placed on a ridge overlooking a most romantic and beautiful lake. Eastward is *Chitor*, formerly the capital of the State, and the renowned fortress successively taken by Alá-ud-dín and by Akbar. In the British district of Ajmer is *Ajmer*, one of the most picturesque towns of India, always an object of contention between the Rájputs and the Mughuls, and generally occupied by the latter as the strategical position dominating Rájputána. *Jodhpur*, the capital of the State of that name, is a fenced

city in the desert, containing 150,000 inhabitants. In Alwár (or Ulwar), north of Jaipur, is *Lásuári*, the scene of Lord Lake's crowning victory over the Mahrattas in 1803, which terminated the second Mahratta war. In Bhartpur is *Bhartpur*, the capital and a fortress once deemed impregnable, but stormed by the British forces under Lord Combermere in 1826; and *Dig*, the scene of the defeat of Hol-kár's troops by the British in 1804. In Jhálawar is *Gagron*, the site of a fortress famous for Ráná Sangá's great victory over the forces of Málwa in 1519. In Sirohi is situated *Mount Abu*, a sacred hill both for Hindus and for Jains, and the residence of the 'Agent of the Governor-General for Rájputána,' who is the immediate representative of the British Government in this province.

Rájputána, though sparsely populated and comparatively somewhat backward in general prosperity, is historically one of the most interesting provinces of India, for therein have remained, more or less intact, and under the suzerainty of the successive conquerors of India, the only modern survivals of the most ancient forms of Hindu rule.

§ 20. The Bombay Presidency.—West and south of Rájputána is the Bombay Presidency, which includes the British Governorship of Bombay, together with a large number of feudatory States.

The part of the Governorship which is west of Rájputána and adjoins the Punjab, is called Sind, and is the lower valley of the Indus. South of Sind and Rájputána, and separating Sind from the rest of the Bombay Governorship, are Gujarát and Cutch (*Kachh*), the former occupying a peninsula (called Káthiwár) and part of the main land, and the latter being separated from the mainland by a shallow arm of the sea (called the Rann of Cutch), which is dry in the hot weather. Cutch, a great part of Gujarát, and other portions of the Bombay Presidency are under the direct government of feudatory chieftains (see below). The southern portion of the Bombay Governorship consists of: (1) Part of the province called Gujarát; (2) the Konkan, including the island of Bombay and much of the adjacent mainland lying between the sea and the Western Gháts; (3) Maháráshtra, or the country of the

Mahrattas, lying inland, and separated from the Konkan by the range of the Western Gháts; (4) Khándesh, also inland, east of Gujarát and north of Maháráshtra; and in the extreme south (5) North Kanará, adjoining Mysore and the Madras Presidency, and separated from the Konkan by the small Portuguese territory of Goa.

All these provinces, except Gujarát, belong to Southern India, forming the western side of the Great Indian Peninsula; and the portions lying in the south and east, above the Gháts, being a part of the great plateau of the Deccan, are officially called the division of the *Deccan*. It will be seen hereafter that most of the Bombay territories were acquired by cession or conquest from the Mahrattas at the beginning of the present century. The great city and port of Bombay is one of the most important commercial centres of the world, being the head and junction, on the side nearest Europe, of the railway traffic of India. It contains about 650,000 inhabitants, and is inferior to Calcutta in point of numbers only by reason of the greater populousness of the suburban districts of Calcutta. In the Konkan, north-east of Bombay, is *Tanna* (or *Tháná*) on the island of Salsette; and *Bassein*, north-west of Tanna, stormed by the British in the first Mahratta war, and famous for the treaty of 1802 with the last of the Peshwás. In Maháráshtra are *Poona*, long the capital of the Mahrattas; near it, *Kharkí*, the scene of the outbreak of the Peshwá in 1817. *Ahmadnagar*, the capital of the Nizám Sháhi kingdom; *Bijápur*, the capital of the Adil Sháhi kingdom; and *Satára*, the capital of Sivaji's descendants. In Gujarát are *Baroda*, capital of the Mahratta chief called the Gaikwár; *Surat*, most famous as one of the earliest English factories and for many historical associations. In Sind are *Haidarábád*, the capital; near it, *Miani* or *Meeanee*, the scene of the British victory in 1843 that secured the conquest of Sind; and *Amarkot*, the birthplace of Akbar; *Tatta*, on the Indus, the ancient capital of Sind; and west of Tatta, the rising port of *Karáchi*, with more than 50,000 inhabitants. The total area of the Bombay Presidency, including the feudatory states attached to it (and including also Baroda, or the Gaikwár's dominions, for administrative purposes now attached to the Supreme Government of India), is about 195,000 square miles; its total population, about twenty-five millions.

§ 21. *Central India Agency*.—East of Gujarát and Rájputána, partly in Hindustan and partly in the Deccan, is the great group of feudatory States known as the *Central India Agency*, so called because the representative of

the paramount power is called 'the agent of the Governor-General for Central India.' The agency comprises the seventy-one feudatories of Málwá, Bundelkhand, and Bághelkhand, with an area of nearly 90,000 square miles and a population of more than eight millions. The most important states are: (1) Gwalior, or the dominions of the Maharájá Sindia, in several detached portions, but aggregating an area greater than that of Holland and Belgium together; (2) Indore, the dominions of the Maharájá Holkár, comprising a large part of Málwá; (3) Bhopál, the dominions of Sháh Jahán Begum; and (4) Rewah, and the States of Bundelkhand and Bághelkhand, south of the North-West Provinces and west of Chutiá Nágpur in Bengal.

In the territory of Sindia are: *Gwalior*, the capital, with its famous fortress (the state-prison of the Mughul emperors), and the *Lashkar* or standing-camp; near it, *Mahárájpur* and *Paniár*, the scenes of the battles in which Sindia's forces were defeated by the British in 1843; *Ujjain*, one of the most ancient and sacred cities of India, the capital of King Vikramáditya, and the first meridian of Hindu geographers; *Nimach* (or *Neemuch*), a great British cantonment; and *Bhilsa*, famous for its Buddhist 'topes.'

In Holkár's dominions are: *Indore*, the capital; *Mahidpur*, near Ujjain, the scene of the defeat of Holkár's forces by the British in 1817; and *Mau* (or *Mhow*), a great British cantonment. In Bhopál are: *Raisin*, a fort captured by Sher Sur; and *Sehore*, a British cantonment.

§ 22. The Central Provinces.—South of the Central India Agency, and south-west of Chutiá Nágpur in Bengal, is the great British territory called the Central Provinces, governed by a Chief Commissioner.

[NOTE.—Students will do well to distinguish clearly between the British territory known as 'the Central Provinces' and the group of feudatory native States known as 'Central India' or 'the Central Indian Agency' (described in the last section). The term *Central India* is sometimes loosely used to include both these vast regions.]

The Central Provinces consist of three territories historically distinct—the *Ságar* and *Narbadá* territories in the north (ceded by the Rájá of Nágpur in 1818), Nágpur

in the south (annexed by Lord Dalhousie in 1853), and the *Tributary Mahalls* on the east. In size and population the Central Provinces are about equal to the Central India Agency, the area of the former being a little less and the area of the latter being a little more than that of Great Britain.

In ancient times the Central Provinces formed the kingdom of Gondwáná, the country of the aboriginal Gonds; at present the Gonds and other aboriginal tribes are estimated to number about one-fourth of the population—the remaining three-fourths being Hindus in race, Hindus or Muhammadans in religion, and speaking Hindi or Marathi or Uriyá. The city of Nágpur contains 85,000 inhabitants, and Jabalpur 55,000; but the country generally is rather thinly populated, most of it being elevated upland and forest. It is rich in mineral resources, having very valuable coal-mines, and has grown into great importance as a cotton-growing region.

The Chief Commissioner has under him four Commissioners, those of Nágpur, Jabalpur, Chattisgarh, and Narbadá. There are a large number of feudatory native States attached to this Government, with a total area of 29,000 square miles and a population of more than a million; the largest is Bastar, with an area greater than that of Belgium.

In the district of Nimár, in the Narbadá Commissionership, is *Burhānpur*, the capital of the old kings of Khándesh, and near it is the famous fortress of *Asinggarh*. In the Nágpur Commissionership is *Nágpur*, formerly the capital of the Mahratta Rájás of Barár; and near it is *Kámthi*, a large cantonment of British troops, and the historic ridge of Sitábaldi.

§ 23. The Barárs.—South and west of the Central Provinces and east of Khándesh in Bombay lies the territory called the *Barárs* or the *Haidarabad Assigned Districts*, at present under direct British rule, the chief officer of Government being the British Resident at Haidarabad. This territory was handed over to the British Government by the Nizám of Haidarabad as security for debts. Its area is 17,711 square miles, its population about two millions and a quarter.

Barár is a corruption of *Vidarbhā*, the ancient name of the country (see the story of *Nala and Damayanti*, Chap. i. p. 144). The province is divided into the two Commissionerships of East and West Barár.

In the district of Illichpur in East Barár is *Illichpur*, the capital, and the fortress of *Gawilgarh*. In the district of Akola, in West Barár, are *Argdon*, and the ruins of *Sháhpur*. The southern part of Barár is called the *Báldghát*.

§ 24. **Haidarabad.**—South of the Barárs are the dominions of the Nizám of Haidarabad, a great feudatory of the Indian Empire. They occupy the centre of the Deccan peninsula, being cut off from the sea by the Bombay Presidency on the west and by the Madras Presidency on the east and south; and the Nizám is often called the Nizám of the Deccan.

In size and population the State of Haidarabad is about equal to the Central Provinces. *Haidarabad* (or Hyderabad), the capital, is on the Musi, a tributary of the Krishna; it contains a population estimated at 200,000, with a large foreign element consisting of Arabs, Habshis (or Abyssinians), Rohilla and other Afgháns, generally descended from or connected with the mercenary troops formerly largely employed by the Nizám's Government. *Secunderabad*, five miles north of Haidarabad, is the largest British cantonment in India—the barracks and other buildings for the troops extending for a distance of four miles; near it is the *Husain Ságar*, a tank or artificial lake several miles in circumference; and further away is *Boláram*, the chief cantonment of the Nizám's troops. North-west from Haidarabad lies *Golkondah*, formerly the capital of the Kutb-Sháhi kings, and once famous for its diamond mines. In the north-east is *Warangal*, once the capital of the Hindu empire of Telingana. *Bidar*, on a tributary of the Godávári, was the capital of the Barid-Sháhi dynasty; and near it is *Kulbargah* or *Gulbargah*, formerly the seat of the Bahmani kings, and now an important railway-junction on the line between Bombay and Madras. *Kharkí* was the capital of Malik Amber; it is now called *Aurangabad*, from Aurangzeb, who was *subahdár* of the Deccan in the reign of his father, Sháh Jahán. A little west of Aurangabad is *Deogiri* or *Deogarh*, now called *Daulatabad*; a few miles to the north-west is *Ellora*, famous for its cave-temples, and to the east is the battle-field of *Assai*.

§ 25. **The Madras Presidency.**—The British and feudatory territories that constitute the Presidency of Madras occupy all the eastern coast of the Indian Peninsula (called the Coromandel coast) as far north as Orissa in Bengal,

all the southern portion of that peninsula, and a part of the western (or Malabar) coast. These territories contain an area of 148,674 square miles, and a population of very nearly 35,000,000; of which an area of 138,856 square miles and a population of more than 31,500,000 are under direct British administration. The north-eastern districts bordering on Orissa are called the Northern Circars (*Sarkárs*); the eastern and southern districts are the Carnatic; the western are Malabar and South Kanará.

Attached to the Madras Presidency are five native States, feudatories of the Empire; of these the most important is *Travancore*, which enjoys the reputation of being one of the best-governed and most enlightened native States in India. The present Mahárájá is a prince of great learning and ability. His Highness is an accomplished English writer and speaker, and administers his dominions on the same principles as those which govern British India, and with distinguished success. A Travancore statesman, Sir Mádhava Ráo, formerly prime minister, is one of the most famous Indian rulers, and has been appointed by the Government of India to direct the affairs of Baroda during the minority of the young Gaikwár. Travancore occupies the southern corner of the Indian peninsula. North of it on the Malabar coast is the smaller principality of *Cochin*.

The climate of the Carnatic is much hotter than that of Bengal, and the country much more bare of grass; but many parts are well watered by irrigation from the great rivers, and here the produce of rice is generally very large. *Madras*, the capital, has a population of 397,000; it suffers from the disadvantage of having, as a harbour, only an open roadstead, with a beach on which the surf is often very heavy. *Tanjore*, with a population of 52,000, is famous for its great pagoda, dedicated to the worship of Siva. *Chingalpat* and *Conjeveram* (or *Kanchipuram*) are places of historical interest near Madras. *Arcot*, famous for Clive's defence, was formerly the capital of the Carnatic; and in the same district are *Vellor* and *Wandewash*. In the district of South Arcot are *Cuddalore*, with 40,000 inhabitants, *Ginji*, *Porto Novo*, the French settlement of *Pondicherry* (with an area of 113 square miles and a population of 143,500), and the ruins of *Fort St David*. In the district of Trichinápalli is *Trichinápalli* (population

76,000), often taken and retaken in the wars of the English and French in the Carnatic; and the sacred island of *Srirangam*. In the district of Madura is the ancient town of *Madura*, now containing 51,000 inhabitants. In Malabar are the ports of *Calicut* and *Cannanore*, and the Palghát Pass; in South Kanará is the port of *Mangalor*. The popular name for Malabar and the country to the south is *Kerala*. In the Northern Circars are *Gumsur*, *Masulipatam*, and *Guntur*; the country much resembles the adjoining Bengal province of Orissa, but is hotter. The provinces of Malabar and South Kanará are very hot and moist, the home of the pepper and teak trees; the fragrant sandal-wood being found in the dry inland country beyond the mountains and bordering on Mysore. Madras is now connected with Bombay by a railway. *Utakamand*, the summer seat of the Madras Government, is on the Nilgiri Hills, at an elevation of 7,960 feet, and enjoys an annual mean temperature of only 60°. *Kunnur* and *Wellington* are also hill-stations on the Nilgiris; the slopes of these hills are largely cultivated by European coffee-planters.

§ 26. **Mysore and Coorg.**—In the southern-central part of the peninsula, south of the Haidarabad territory and separated from it by some Madras districts called the Ceded Districts, are the principalities of Mysore and Coorg, at present under the rule of a British Chief Commissioner. But Mysore is now being transferred to the young Maharájá on his attaining his majority, and it will henceforth rank as one of our most important native feudatory States.

Mysore occupies a lofty tableland, with an average elevation of 3,000 feet. The native capital is Mysore, with a population of 58,000; and near it is the famous *Seringapatam*, the capital of Haidar Ali and Tippu, now almost in ruins. During the British rule *Bangalore* (with a population of 142,000) has grown to be the most important town in Mysore; it has a large British cantonment, and enjoys a cool and pleasant climate. Other places of historical interest are *Bednor* and the hill-fortress of *Nandidrug*. Coorg is now British territory, a very rugged and mountainous region, generally more than 3,000 feet above sea-level. Its capital is *Merkára*. With the Madras (Malabar) district of the *Wainád* (or *Wynaad*) which adjoins it on the south, Coorg is rapidly rising into importance as the home of English coffee-planters, who also successfully cultivate tea and cinchona.

§ 27. **Himalayan Frontier States.**—In the valleys and slopes of the Himálayas are four native States, namely,

Bhotán, in the *Himálaya* slopes north of *Assam* and *Bengal*; *Sikkim*, in those north of *Bengal*; *Nepál*, in the slopes and valleys north of *Bengal*, the North-West Provinces, and *Oudh*; and *Kashmir*, which occupies a large and beautiful valley in the inner *Himálayas* north-east of the *Punjab*.

Bhotán was anciently called *Madra*. The entire population of these vast mountainous wilds has been estimated at about 20,000; the *Bhotiyas* are a turbulent race, closely connected with *Thibet*, and having scarcely any political constitution of their own. The *Dev Rájá*, supposed to be the political chief, lives near the western frontier; but the extent and efficiency of his jurisdiction are not ascertained. The *Dharma Rájá* is the chief spiritual authority. The passes leading into *Assam*, including some valleys of great fertility, are called the *Bhotán Duárs*. The *Duárs* immediately adjoining *Assam* were taken from the *Bhotiyas* in 1866, as a punishment for their incessant raiding, and were annexed to British territory. The *Bhotiyas* are *Buddhists*.

Sikkim is a much smaller and more compact territory than *Bhotán*, but as wild and mountainous, and as thinly peopled. Its inhabitants are called *Lepchas*, but there are many *Bhotiya* and *Nepalese* immigrants. The *Mahárájá* is in frequent and friendly communication with the British Deputy-Commissioner of *Darjiling*, a district formerly belonging to *Sikkim*. The country is drained by the upper waters and tributaries of the *Tistá*.

Nepál occupies the upper valleys of three tributaries of the *Ganges*—the *Ráptí*, *Gandak*, and *Kosi*, and the adjacent mountain-regions. It extends from *Sikkim* on the east to *Kumaon* on the west, and has an area estimated at 54,000 square miles, and a population estimated at 3,000,000. The ruling race are called *Ghurkás*, who conquered the country about the year 1767; most of the agriculturists are *Newárs*. A Chinese army overran the province in 1792, and dictated an ignominious peace within a few miles of *Khatmandu*, the capital. In 1814-15 occurred the war

with the British, closed by the submission of the Nepalese at the treaty of Sigauli in 1816. The late Sir Jang Bahádúr, G.C.S.I., Prime Minister of Nepál, was for many years the virtual ruler of the country, and loyally helped the British Government during the Mutiny. Since his death, his brother has been chief ruler in the name of the titular Mahárájá. A British Resident is stationed at Khatmandu. The Nepalese Himálayas, especially those on the Sikkim frontier, are the loftiest mountains in the world; the highest peaks being *Mount Everest* (29,000 feet), and *Daulagiri* and *Kanchinjunga* (both over 28,000 feet). The frontier of Nepál on the side of British India consists of a pestiferous belt of jungly swamp, already described under the name of the *Tarai*; behind this is another belt of splendid forest-trees, from which the lower terraces of the Himálayas commence to rise. Most of the Nepalese are Buddhist in religion, though the rulers are Hindus, and speak a Sanskritic language called *Párvatíya* (hill-language).

Kashmír is the most important of the frontier states, and more closely connected with the British Government than the others. Its territory now includes not only the beautiful valley of that name, but also extensive regions on the Upper Indus, called Little Thibet and Ladakh, Gilgit, Chitral, &c. On the conquest of the Punjab the British Government bestowed Kashmír on Rájá Guláb Singh of Jammu, the father of the present Mahárájá of Jammu and Kashmír, on his paying a portion of the Sikh indemnity. The 'Happy Valley' has always been famed for the beauty of its scenery, for its lake, its flowers, and its fruits, and a good many English visitors come there every summer in search of health or sport. The Mahárájá is one of the chief feudatories of the Indian Empire, and has been created a G.C.S.I. and a Councillor of the Empress. The capital is *Srinagar*.

§ 28. *North-West Frontier States*.—As we trace the frontier of the Punjab and Sind westward and southward,

from the confines of Kashmír round to the sea near Karáchi, we find a large number of wild or semi-civilised tribes, who either assert a savage independence or own an uncertain allegiance to military rulers at Kábul in Afghanistan, at Kalát in Balochistán, and sometimes at other centres. Of late years the most important of these chiefs has usually been the ruler of Kábul, called the Amir or Wali of Afghanistan [see Chapter XXIX., § 1]; and besides the country of Kábul proper, and the *Kohistán*, or mountain regions adjoining, the Amir of Kábul has for some time (until the present war) succeeded in holding in subjection the provinces of Ghazni and Kandahár southward, Herat and the rich and fertile valley of the Harirud westward as far as Persia, with some extensive possessions north of the Hindu Kush range, known as Afghán Tur-kistan. The Khán of Kalát is the chief ruler in Balochistan.

All these tribes are as a rule Musalmáns. Perhaps the least civilised are those found between Kábul and the Kashmir territory, including the *Afridis* of the Khaibar Pass; the inhabitants of the Swát Valley (the Swát river is a tributary of the Kabul river, which itself falls into the Indus) who own the sovereignty of a Muhammadan saint or ascetic, a spiritual ruler called the Akhund of Swát; the inhabitants of Buner, and of the Chitral frontiers of Kashmir. In the wild and almost unexplored country adjoining the Chitral frontiers are a curious race called the *Dards*, occupying an indefinite area known as Dardistan; they are said to speak a language closely resembling that primitive Aryan speech which was the parent of Sanskrit and Greek and Latin and all the other Aryan languages. The Afgháns call these Dáreds and all other non-Musalmán inhabitants of the mountains by the vague name of *Káfirs* or infidels, a term also applied to Hindus and Christians. The Afgháns are also called *Patháns*.

Quetta, in the territory of Kalát, is a permanent British cantonment, dominating the Bolan Pass [see § 3].

§ 29. Foreign European Settlements.—There are three small Portuguese settlements in India, namely, Goa (area, 1,062 square miles, population 363,000), a town and district between the Konkan and North Kanará; *Damnán*, a

town in the British district of Surát (population, 33,000) ; and *Diú*, an island near the peninsula of Káthiwár (population, 10,000).

There are also five petty French settlements, of which the chief are the town of Pondicherry, south of Madras (population, 363,000), and the town of Chandernagar, between Hooghly and Serampore, on the river Hooghly, above Calcutta (population, 22,000).

§ 30. *Ceylon*.—Ceylon is geographically an Indian island, though it has no political connection with the Indian Empire, as it is an English Crown colony, and is ruled by the English Government in London through a governor, and not by the Viceroy of India. It is a little smaller than Ireland, with a population of nearly 2,500,000. The native name is Singhala, but the Hindus call it Lanká, and the Muhammadan name (in Arabic) was *Silán*, of which the English name *Ceylon* is only another spelling.

The true natives of Ceylon are Singhalese (or Cingalese), and speak Singháli (or Cingalese), a language immediately derived from the Sanskrit—*Páli* being the sacred language of their Buddhist scriptures, and still more closely connected with Sanskrit. But the majority of the inhabitants of the northern parts of the island, and most of the coolies (labourers) on the numerous coffee plantations of the Central Province, are *Tamils*—immigrants, or descendants of immigrants, from the Madras coast. There are a good many Muhammadans, who are here called *Moormen* ; also many descendants of the old Portuguese and Dutch settlers who married in the island—the latter being generally called *Burghers*.

The maritime provinces came into possession of the Portuguese about the middle of the sixteenth century ; the Portuguese were driven out by the Dutch in 1658, and the Dutch were conquered by the English in 1795. The mountainous country of the interior remained under the rule of the native kings of *Kandy* until 1815. *Anurádhapura*, in the northern part of the island, was in former times the capital, and there are still extensive ruins there, nearly buried under jungle.

Colombo, the Portuguese capital, is now the seat of government, and is a large and flourishing city of 120,000 people. The approaching completion of the breakwater is likely to give a great impetus to its trade. There is a large export of coffee, cinnamon, and the other products of the island, and an import trade in rice from India and manu-

factured goods from England. The short railway from Colombo to Kandy, which has lately been extended into the heart of the mountainous coffee-districts, is a triumph of engineering skill, as the line has to ascend some tremendous passes with very steep gradients: owing, however, to the great trade and traffic, it is one of the most profitable lines in the world, and returns a considerable revenue to Government, which owns it.

Kandy, at an elevation of about 2,000 feet, is still the head-quarters of the Singhali aristocracy (though the surviving members of the old royal family are 'interned' at Vellore in the Madras Presidency). The famous temple containing Buddha's tooth, an object of veneration throughout the Buddhist world, and the goal of many pilgrimages from China, Siam, and Burmah, is at Kandy; whilst on Adam's Peak (7,400 feet) is a mark on the rock, said to be the impression of Buddha's foot.

The scenery and vegetation of the south-central mountain region are unsurpassed; here there are numerous English coffee-planters, living in a cool and pleasant climate, and producing most of the coffee that is used in Great Britain. The sanitarium of *Nuwara Eliya* is situated on a broad plateau, nearly 7,000 feet above the sea, to which the Government of Ceylon generally repairs during the hot months. Lower down, at *Peradeniya*, close to Kandy, are the famous Botanical Gardens, perhaps the most beautiful in the world. *Jaffna*, on a small island, at the northern extremity of Ceylon, is the seat of an important mission; it is also the head-quarters of the pearl fishery, which is carried on at certain intervals in the gulf of Manaar under Government supervision.

Galle (or *Point-de-Galle*) and Trincomalee are ports that have already been mentioned. The whole coast-line between Galle and Colombo, and further, is fringed by a beautiful and productive belt of cocoa-nut palms; from which immense quantities of coir and other valuable commodities are manufactured for exportation.

There are about 240,000 Christians in Ceylon, of whom about 186,000 are Roman Catholics, chiefly descendants of the old Portuguese settlers and their converts.

§ 31. **British Burma.**—Unlike Ceylon, British Burma is geographically distinct from India, being a portion of 'Further India,' the great peninsula that forms the eastern shore of the bay of Bengal, whilst politically it is essentially a part of the Indian Empire, being administered by a Chief Commissioner and other Indian officers under the direct orders of the Viceroy. It contains an area of

88,556 square miles, and a population of about 2,750,000. It consists of three rich and fertile provinces, forming the western seaboard of the peninsula; namely, *Arakán*, which is adjacent to the extreme eastern limit of Eastern Bengal; *Pegu*, south of Arakán, consisting of the lower valleys of the great rivers Iráwadi, Sitoung, and Salwen; and *Tenasserim*, a long narrow strip of sea-coast running southward.

Rangoon, the capital of Pegu and the seat of the Government of British Burma, is a flourishing town of 100,000 inhabitants, situated on a branch of the Iráwadi called the Rangoon river. It has a large export trade in rice and timber. *Moulmein*, the chief town of Tenasserim, is a fine port, built on a small peninsula at the mouth of the Salwen river; it has a population of 50,000. *Akyab*, the capital of Arakán, is on an island of the same name at the mouth of the Kuladan river. British Burma has made extraordinary progress during the last few years, the production of its staple, rice, having been greatly stimulated by the rapidly developed means of export, and by the heavy demands of India during years of famine. The vast forests of teak supply timber for the needs of ship-builders all over the world; and very recently, almost inexhaustible supplies of petroleum have been discovered. The climate is more equable than that of any part of India, but is moist and hot throughout the year. Much of the country is inundated for several months every year, consequently there are few roads and no railways; but steamers constantly ply between the chief ports, water-communication is everywhere complete, and the telegraphic system is in full connection with India and the rest of the world.

The *Burmese* are a bright and cheerful race, whose physiognomy shows them to be connected by race with the Chinese and other allied peoples of Eastern Asia. The Arakanese (or *Mughs*) belong to the same race, but have been isolated for ages, and consequently differ from the Burmese in dialect and other respects. The *Talaings* are the descendants of the ancient people of Pegu; long conquered by the Burmese, they still retain a certain amount of race-antagonism. The *Kárens* are another distinct tribe, interesting on account of the remarkable progress Christianity has made among them.

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands are two groups in the Bay of Bengal opposite Tenasserim. They are ruled by a British officer under the Government of India; and in the Andamans is the great penal settlement to which

convicts are transported from all parts of India. *Port Blair*, the capital, has the melancholy interest attached to it of having been the scene of the murder of Lord Mayo, who was here stabbed by an Afghán convict. The native Andamanese, supposed to number about 10,000, are savages of the lowest type, and are reputed to have cannibalistic propensities. The Nikobareans are little better; and one of the chief reasons why these islands are held by the Indian Government is to suppress the piracy and wrecking for which they were famous.

§ 32. *Ancient or Popular Divisions of India.*—As in France the modern names of the ‘departments’ have superseded the old ‘provinces,’ so in India the administrative divisions of the Indian Empire have superseded the old divisions both Hindu and Muhammadan. Many of these ancient divisions, however, are of considerable historical importance. It will be well for the student to know something about them, and also something about some divisions that still exist in the language of the people though unrecognised officially.

The chief divisions of the Mughul Empire in the time of Akbar (called *Súbahs*, the jurisdiction of a *Súbahdár* or viceroy) are given in the map at page 207.

In addition to these may be noticed, as Muhammadan divisions, the following :—

Jhárkhand (*jungle-land*), the northern part of Gondwána, closely corresponding to the modern Chutiá Nágpur in Bengal.

Rohilkhand (the country of the immigrant Rohilla Afgháns), which is also a modern division of the North-West Provinces, west of Oudh.

Bundelkhand (the country of the Bundela Rájputs), which is also a modern name, including the southern portions of the North-West Provinces, and the adjoining native States; with *Bághelkhand* (the country of the Bághela Rájputs), east of Bundelkhand.

Sambhal, which was an earlier name for the western part of Rohilkhand and some adjoining districts.

Mewát, in Mughul times famous as a land of turbulent freebooters, was south-west of Delhi, and included most of the modern State of Alwar in Rájputána.

Doáb (the land of two rivers) is applied to all countries between

two rivers which unite ; but *the Doab* generally means the country between the Ganges and the Jamnah.

The Mughul *Sibah* of Lahore, with parts of those of Delhi and Muktán or Sind, form the modern *Punjab*.

The Mughul *Sibah* of Kábul seems to have included Eastern and Southern Afghánistán and Eastern Balochistán. In earlier Musalmán times, Afghánistán was divided into (1) *Khilji* or *Ghilji*, the country of the Khilji Afgháns, between Kuram and Ghazni ; (2) *Roh*, the country of the Rohilla Afgháns, between Ghazni and Kandahár ; (3) *Ghor*, the country of the Ghorí Afgháns, between Balkh and Merv, north of the Hindu Kush mountains.

Some of the most interesting Hindu divisions of very ancient times are the following :—

Kámrup was Lower Assam.

Madra was Bhotán and Upper Assam.

Odra or *Utkala* was Orissa.

Anga, *Banga*, *Varendra*, *Rára*, *Bágri*, were divisions of Lower Bengal (*Banga-des*).

Vriji was the earliest name of Tirhut in Bihár ; which was afterwards the kingdom of *Mithila*, and was probably also included in the realm of *Vaisáli*. The centre of the great empire of *Magadha* was in Southern Bihár.

Káshi was the Benares country ; north-west of it, to the Himálaya, was *Kapila*, or *Kapilavastu*.

Panchála was Rohilkhand and the adjacent districts.

The great *Andhra* kingdom of *Telingana* (with its capital at *Warangal*) had its centre in the north-east of the Deccan (Haidarabad territory), and extended at times over the eastern part of the peninsula. The portion of this empire adjacent to Orissa was called *Kalinga*, and was often independent.

The vast territories of *Kosala* or *Mahákosala* extended from the western confines of Telingana and Kalingga to the eastern bounds of Málwa (then called *Ujjayini* or *Ujjain*, from its capital) and of *Maháráshtra*. *Vidarbha* was Barár.

Virátá was a kingdom in the north-east of Rájputána. *Taxila* (or *Takshasila*) was a city and realm in the north of the Punjab, conquered by Alexander, and visited by the Chinese pilgrims.

Saurashtra (called by Muhammadans *Sorath*) was Káthiwar ; and once formed the centre of the great *Vallabhi* empire of Gujarát, and contained the capital *Vallabhi*.

The extreme southern corner of the peninsula (now Travancore) was called *Malakuta* ; and north of this was a large territory called

Dravida (whence the term 'Dravidian languages'), with its capital at Conjeveram (*Kanchipuram*).

The *Konkan* is the term formerly applied (and still in use) for the low country between the Western Gháts and the sea: the similar country on the eastern coast is called, in the north the *Northern Circars*, in the south the *Carnatic*.

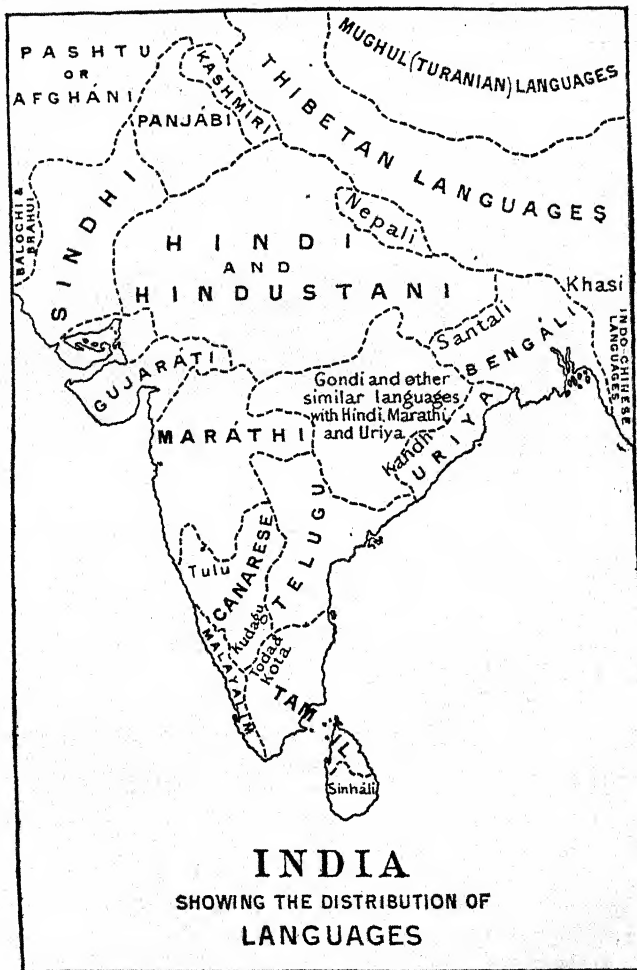
PART III.

RACES AND LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

§ 33. A Collection of many Nations. § 34. Foreigners. § 35. Muhammadans of Foreign Descent. § 36. Races that have occupied the Country since the dawn of History. § 37. Successive Waves of Conquest. § 38. Aryan Races. § 39. Non-Aryan Races. § 40. Dravidians. § 41. Miscellaneous Non-Aryan Tribes.

§ 33. **A Collection of many Nations.**—The population of India is composed of many distinct races, some differing widely from others in habits and customs, in language, in religion, and even in appearance; and the common name *Indian*, like the common name *European*, is applied to all the members of a collection of many nations. We will here analyse this collection as it exists at the present day; it will be seen hereafter that a clear understanding of this difference of race will be of the highest importance in the study of the earliest history, and will be necessary for the profitable study of the history of later times.

§ 34. **Foreigners.**—It will be useful to exclude at once from our analysis all inhabitants of a distinctly foreign origin. Amongst these should be counted not only Europeans (including Eurasians or the offspring of a mixed parentage), Chinese, and the other non-Indian Asiatics, and the many alien nationalities of comparatively recent settlement in the country; but also such communities as the Armenians, the Jews of Cochin and other parts, and



STANFORDS GEOGRAPHICAL

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of India.

the Pársis,¹ who, though long resident here, have always been insignificant in point of numbers, have always retained their alien characteristics, and have had no influence on the history of the country.

§ 35. **Muhammadans of Foreign Descent.**—We may also exclude at once from our analysis those Muhammadans who are of foreign descent,² that is, those Muhammadans who are not descended from converted Hindús. Their number has been estimated at nearly one-half that of the entire Musalmán population. They are chiefly found in the upper basin of the Ganges, but they form an important element in the population throughout Northern India. They are divided into four classes: Sayyids, Mughuls, Patháns, and Shekhs. The Sayyids claim descent from the Prophet, taking the prefix Sayyid before their names, and sometimes the title Sháh. The Mughuls are, as their name implies, descendants of the companions or followers of the Tartar conquerors of India, and are less numerous than the other classes. They are generally fairer in complexion than the rest, and have a Tartar cast of countenance; the name is, however, very commonly applied to Persians resident in India. They are often known by the affix Beg, and sometimes use the prefix Mir or Mírzá. The Patháns are of Afghán origin, and are always known by the affix Khán. The Shekhs are a miscellaneous class, generally including all those Muhammadans who do not belong to any of the other classes. The Muhammadan aristocracy are much attached to the languages of their ancestors, Persian and Arabic, and study them carefully; but their common language is Hindústání (which is also a common medium

¹ The Pársis, chiefly resident in and about Bombay on the west-coast, belong to the ancient Persian race, and are the descendants of refugees from Persia who fled to India on the fall of the Sassanian Dynasty in the seventh century (*see* Introduction, § 91).

² It is hardly necessary to observe that the broad division of the natives of India, into Hindús and Muhammadans, is founded on a distinction of religion only, and it is of no ethnological importance whatever.

of communication for all classes and in all parts of India) This language was originally merely the *Urdu*, or camp dialect of the Musalmán invaders, and was formed by a mixture of *Persian* with the vernaculars of the basin of the Ganges.

§ 36. Races that have occupied the Country since the Dawn of History.—The remainder of the inhabitants belong to those races which have occupied the country since the dawn of history. They form the vast majority of the whole population. But amongst these are included numerous nations which differ from each other in all characteristics of race—appearance, manners, language—as widely as they differ from those nationalities which we have already excluded as being manifestly and historically foreign.

§ 37. Successive Waves of Conquest.—All the countries best known in history have been peopled by successive waves of conquering invaders pressing more and more on the earliest inhabitants; and the latter, as we can assign to them no other origin, are usually called aborigines, or children of the soil. It has almost invariably happened that the conquering race has itself occupied the most fertile lands of the country, especially the river basins, and has either reduced the aboriginal tribes to a condition of serfdom, or has driven them to the more remote districts. In cases where a second race of invaders has followed on the first, and has succeeded in conquering it in its turn, the latter has usually been compelled to occupy the more remote districts, and has driven the aborigines still further back, into the inaccessible fastnesses of mountains and forests. It has long been known that India forms no exception to the general rule. The combined result of all researches clearly proves, by the most complete induction, that at least *one* such wave of conquest poured over the country in early times; and we have obtained a fairly intelligible account of that conquest (which will be briefly discussed in our first chapter) by combining the testimony of ancient literature with the results of investigations into modern

race-characteristics and language. The last-mentioned investigations appear even to point to another and earlier tide of invasion. For the sake of clearness, we shall first consider those races which came into India on the clearly defined wave of conquest mentioned above—those, namely, which are called the Aryan races, of whose advent and origin a short account will be given hereafter. The original language of these tribes was one common to them with the ancestors of Englishmen and Germans, Frenchmen and Italians, Welshmen and Bretons, Poles and Russians, Greeks and Persians. Of all known languages, living or dead, the one most like this primeval language is doubtless Sanskrit; and the various Indian vernaculars in use at the present day, which are derived from this stock, together with the extent to which it is modified in them respectively, will afford us some guide in determining the full effects of this invasion on the population of India.

§ 38. **Aryan Races.**—The Aryans, entering by the north-west passes, and descending first the valley of the Indus, and then that of the Ganges, attained their full strength and development on the latter river. Hence Hindí in its purest forms is very nearly connected with the parent Sanskrit. No less than 58 dialects of this great language have recently been enumerated; ¹ of which perhaps the most important are Kanaují, probably the descendant of the dialect of the old Aryan empire of Kanauj, and Maithilí (similarly related to the language of the Aryan kingdom of Magadha). Various dialects of Hindí are spoken throughout the North-West Provinces, Oudh, Bundelkhand, Rájputána, and the province of Bihár in Bengal; as well as in the greater portion of the Central Provinces, and in many parts of the Punjab, Bombay, and Madras. Hindí has retained the written character called Nágari, hardly perceptibly differing from that in which the ancient Sanskrit was written. From its central position, its wide diffusion,

¹ *Languages of the East Indies*, by R. N. Oust. 1878.

and the similarity of its 'purest forms to the Sanskrit, it may be regarded as the truest representative of the real and original vernacular of the Hindu race—a recent authority has indeed stated his opinion that 'all the other Aryan vernaculars are variants of it, caused by the influence of non-Aryan communities.'

Panjábi (with ten allied dialects, of which Jathki is perhaps the most important) is spoken by Sikhs and others on the upper waters of the Indus. Sindhi, with eight dialects, is spoken on the lower course of the Indus, in Sind and the neighbouring districts of Cutch and Balochistán. Maráthi is one of the strongest of the Aryan dialects, and is spoken by at least ten millions of people in the Bombay Presidency, the Central Provinces, and the Nizam's dominions; it has seven dialects, and two forms of the *Nágari* character, called *Balbodh* and *Modi* respectively. Gujaráti is the language spoken in Gujarát and the neighbouring parts of the Bombay Presidency, and is also used as a commercial language by a large number of traders in the city of Bombay and other commercial centres in West and North-West India. Its written character is the *Gujaráti Balbodh*, a form of *Nágari* wanting the upper line. Bengáli is spoken in the lower valley of the Ganges, and Uriyá in Orissa, from the Ganges to the Mahánadi.

All these languages teach us that the nations which speak them are more or less Aryan in their descent. A considerable admixture of non-Sanskrit words in Bengáli implies that the advanced guard of the Aryan race, on its eastern frontier, has mingled largely with the conquered tribes; the language of Sind, in the extreme west of the country, in like manner testifies to a large infusion of Balochí blood in its inhabitants; whilst Maráthi, extending over the north-west of the Deccan and into the adjacent parts of Hindustán, and Uriyá occupying a similar but smaller space on the eastern side, are evidently frontier dialects, and show a very large admixture of non-Aryan races.

The other Aryan languages of India—each having a larger or smaller number of dialectic varieties—are the following :—

Pashtu, the language of the Afgháns, spoken in Pesháwar and the other Afghán districts in or adjoining the Punjab.

Balochi and *Brakui*, the languages of Balochistan, spoken on the frontiers of the Punjab and Sind.

Kashmiri, in Kashmir.

Nepáli, in Nepál.

Sinhalese, or *Cingalese*, in Ceylon.

§ 39. **Non-Aryan Races.**—The remainder of the indigenous races of India we have classified as non-Aryan ; and many, perhaps most, scholars incline to the belief that there is a sufficient family likeness between all of them to justify us in grouping them thus. But their diversities are still numerous and great. One such diversity, clearly defined and obvious, meets us at the outset.

§ 40. **Dravidians.**—A large portion of this remainder consists of nations hardly, if at all, less civilised and polished than those of the Aryan stock, living in towns and villages, in plains and river basins. Their location, it is true, is situated to the south of the mountain ranges which cut off the Deccan from Hindustán, and is therefore remote from the coveted lands of the fertile northern plains, but the soil they cultivate is generally good, and often rich. They for the most part profess a religion which is more or less based on the Bráhmanical religion of their Aryan neighbours, and their manners and customs are generally not very unlike those of the latter. Above all, they possess polished and cultivated languages, one at least of which (Támil) boasts a considerable literature. At the same time their personal appearance usually testifies that they are not connected by descent with the Aryans ; and the evidence of their languages decisively proves that they belong to an entirely different race. This race has been called *Dravidian*, from *Drávida*, once the name of a considerable district of

Southern India. Of the Dravidian languages, *Telugu* is the speech of the largest community and the finest tribes of Southern India. On account of its soft accent and musical tone, it has been called by Europeans the Italian of the East. Telugu-speaking peoples occupy the greater portion of the eastern side of the Deccan, a territory whose limits coincide in some respects with those of the ancient kingdom of Telingána, and which is bounded on the north-west by Maráthí-speaking races, and on the north by the Uriyás. The Canarese language is the vernacular throughout the great part (including all the southern portion) of the valleys and table-lands between the Eastern and Western Gháts, which formed our second geographical division of the Deccan, and it extends in parts to the western coast. Its name is derived from that of the ancient *Carnatic* kingdom, from which also spring the names of the British districts *Kanarú* and the *Carnatic*. The *Támil* language, which is frequently called *Malabar*, is chiefly spoken on the *Coromandel* coast. *Támil*, and its western variety *Malayálam* (which is *really* spoken on the lower part of the Malabar coast), are the vernaculars of the whole of the southern corner of India, including both the eastern and the western maritime fringes of the peninsula. This language shows marks of great culture and refinement, and possesses a considerable literature. The architectural and other remains that are scattered over the country, the state of the language and the extent of the literature, confirm the traditions that the *Támilian* race attained a high state of civilisation in very remote ages—probably long before the Aryan invasion of India.

The other Dravidian languages of India are more or less uncultivated, and are confined to limited areas. They are—

Tulu, spoken on the west coast of the Madras Presidency.

Kudagu, in Coorg.

Toda, and *Kota*, in the Nilgiri Hills.

Kandh, in the Northern Circars and Orissa.

Gond, in the Northern districts of Madras and in the Central Provinces.

Oraon and *Rajmaháli*, in Bihár (Bengal).

§ 41. **Hill and Jungle Tribes.**—The other great branches of the non-Aryan races and tongues of India embrace all those scattered remains of a primitive population that are now found especially in the more remote or inaccessible districts—in the rugged mountains of the north-east frontier—in the sub-Himálayan region and the Tarái or swampy jungle which forms a belt between that region and the plains—in the vast forests and on the hills of Central India—and throughout the whole extent of both ranges of Gháts and the least accessible parts of the adjoining hill districts. To these also may probably be added a considerable portion of the lowest stratum of the population of the plains, who preferred slavery to exile from their ancient homes, and who probably ultimately formed the greater part (in Northern India) of that vast class who were uniformly repressed by the old Bráhmanic system under the general caste-name of Sudras [see Chap. II. § 4].

It is not necessary here to speak of these scattered languages and races in any detail. Their chief divisions have been named as follows:—

The *Kolarian* Family, in Bihár and the Central Provinces, of which the best-known tribe is the *Santáli*.

The *Thibeto-Burman* Family, including many branches in Nepál, Sikkim, Assam, Eastern Bengal, Manipur, and Burma.

The *Khási* Family, in Assam.

PART IV.

SOIL, MINES, FORESTS, AGRICULTURE, AND NATURAL HISTORY.

§ 42. The Geology of India. § 43. Mines. § 44. Forests.
 § 45. The Botany of India, and its Agriculture. § 46. State Encouragement of Agriculture. § 47. The Zoology of India.

§ 42. **Geology of India.**—The great alluvial plain of the north of India separates the geologically modern rocks of the Himálaya and Sulaimán mountain-zones from the peninsular region, whose rocks are of the highest antiquity.

Immediately along the foot of the sub-Himálaya, there is a zone about ten or fifteen miles wide, called the *Bhábár* or *Jheri*, composed of coarse gravel and shingle brought down by the mountain-torrents. It forms an elevated margin of the great plain, and has a dry surface except in the rains. Mr. Medicott says, "Streams of considerable volume soon sink into the porous ground, to reappear along the lower fringe of the coarse deposits." In parts this zone is covered with magnificent forests of Sál timber; along the foot of the Nepál Himálaya the Bhábár is commonly called 'The Sál Forest.'

This dry forest-zone is succeeded by a line of swamp clothed by a thick growth of reeds and grass: this is where the streams mentioned above reappear. It is called 'The Tarai,' and is well known as the home of malaria and jungle-fever.

The great plain itself, though rightly called *alluvial*, is by no means all subject to flooding by the rivers. Much of it is considerably raised above the rivers, and is called 'the old alluvium,' or, by the cultivators, *Bhángar*. The low-lying land, subject to flooding, is called *Khádar*.

The geological character of the Himálayan mountain-zone, and that of the Sulaimán, are very similar to each other. Mr. Blanford says that the axes of the greater ranges of the Himálaya consist of a highly metamorphosed

rock, a kind of gneiss; and this is followed by an enormous thickness of stratified rocks less metamorphosed, on which rest (at least on the northern side of the chain) a great series of stratified rocks containing fossils of almost every great formation from the *Silurian* to the *nummulitic* or *lower eocene* epoch. An interesting feature in the physical geography of the Himálayas is that the higher valleys are, or at some former time have been, filled with enormous deposits of sand and gravel. That portion of the sub-Himálaya which is known as the Siválik Hills is famous for its gigantic fossil mammalia of species now extinct, including the *hippotherium*, and the monstrous *sivatherium*, a four-horned deer; and more astonishing still is the fossil *colossochelys* of the Siváliks, an enormous tortoise which must have been seventeen feet long and seven feet high, illustrating the well-known Hindu fable of the tortoise that supported an elephant.

The plateaux of Mysore, the Deccan, and Chutiá Nágpur, on the other hand, consist of rocks of the highest antiquity; and on the whole it may be said that during long geological ages the hills of the peninsula have existed as land whilst the area of the mountain-zones have been sea, the upheaval of the latter having taken place in comparatively recent geological times.

A great part of Western India is of volcanic formation: in the plateau of the Deccan, north of Belgaum, the rock formation is one of unbroken sheets of basaltic lava and other volcanic rocks. Of the Málwa and Bághelkhand plateau, the south-western part is covered by sheets of volcanic rock; the remainder is formed by very ancient sedimentary rocks (sandstones, shales, and limestones) of unknown date, or of the still older crystalline rocks on which these rest.

In Málwa, and the plains of Khándesh and Barár, the disintegrated trap-rock gives a black soil of immense depth and richness, known as the 'black cotton soil': on this is grown most of the Indian cotton.

§ 43. **Mines.**—The mineral wealth of India lies mainly in its magnificent coal-seams, its salt-mines, and its iron-fields; and to these must now be added the petroleum of Burma.

Indian coal is inferior in quality to English coal, having far more ash, and at least sixteen per cent. less fixed carbon. But its quantity is almost inexhaustible. The coal-bearing area is estimated at about 35,000 square miles, being greater than that possessed by any country in the world, if we except the United States, China, and Australia. In one coal-field alone, that of Rániganj in Bengal, the coal available has been roughly estimated to be fourteen thousand million tons. This field, through which the 'chord-line' of the East Indian Railway passes, has supplied all the coal used by that railway from its opening, and the yield has more than doubled in a very few years. There are four groups of Indian coal-fields:—(1) those of the Ráj-mahal Hills and the Damudár Valley (including Rániganj), in Bengal; (2) those in Chutiá Nágpur and Rewah; (3) those in the Narbadá Valley and the Sátapura Hills; and (4) recently opened fields in the valleys of the Godávári and the Wardha.

Iron has been rudely manufactured by some of the poorer castes in India from time immemorial, but no scientific manufacture has yet been attempted with success. In the Salem district of the Madras Presidency magnetic iron ores occur in immense beds, 50 to 100 feet thick, the outcrop of which may be traced for miles. At Iohára, in the Chanda district of the Central Provinces, hematite abounds: at one spot there is a mass of dense red hematite, forming an isolated hill 120 feet above the level of the surrounding country, which would probably yield from 300,000 to 500,000 tons of iron without going below the surface. Hematite also occurs in inexhaustible quantities in Bundelkhand and in the Narbadá Valley; and iron is also found largely in the Damudár coal-field, and in Kumaon.

The salt-mines and salt-quarries in the Salt Range, in

the Punjab, are unequalled for richness and purity in the world. There are also many copper mines in the Himálayas, in Rájputána, and elsewhere; lead, silver, and antimony are found (the last in great quantities) in the Himálayas; whilst there are exceedingly rich tin deposits in Tenasserim, which have never been worked, owing to the difficulties of the country. Cobalt is found near Jaipur in Rájputána.

§ 44. Forests.—Forest conservancy in India is rapidly progressing, both in extent and in the skill with which it is directed. Its objects are, to insure supplies of timber and fuel for the use of posterity as well as of the present generation, to moderate the climate and protect the land from destructive floods; and the main principles of Indian forest-conservancy are stated to be “the definition and demarcation of reserved forests, the prevention of jungle-fires, the exclusion of cattle, the opening of roads, and the cutting and clearing away of creepers and grass round the young trees.” The existence of forests, and their character, mainly depends on climatic conditions of temperature and rainfall. In the arid tract of Sind and the Punjab, forests of babúl (*Acacia Arabica*) line the Indus at various points, which in Middle and Upper Sind are mixed with tamarisk and the Euphrates poplar; while *jhund* or *kundi* (*Prosopis spicigera*), an acacia-like tree, *Salvadora*, and an arborescent leafless caper (*Capparis aphylla*), occupy vast tracts in rear of the babúl forests. The dry belt of the Punjab has woods on the high land between the rivers called *rakhs*, also composed mainly of *Prosopis*, *Capparis*, and *Salvadora*. The woodlands of a portion of Rájputána are mainly composed of a beautiful tree, with small leaves and drooping branches, a species of *Anogeissus*; and the southern dry belt, in Mysore, is the region of sandalwood. Outside the dry zones, the teak extends over the peninsula to the northern slopes of the Vindhya Hills, while the Sál (*Shorea robusta*), the most important timber tree of India next to teak, forms extensive forests along the foot of the

Himálayas, in the eastern part of the Central Provinces, the Rewah territory, and the adjoining districts of Bengal. Luxuriant evergreen vegetation is only met with in the two moist belts, the first extending along the Himálayan range to Burma and Tenasserim, the second along the western coast, and thence to the summit of the Gháts. From the Himálaya come the supplies of pine and other coniferous trees. The deodar has its eastern limit in Kumaun, but it is succeeded by other coniferous trees, one of which, the *Pinus Khasiana*, extends into Burma. The *Ficus elastica*, yielding caoutchouc, is found along the foot of the Himálaya from Sikkim to Assam, and more sparingly at the foot of the Khási and Cachár hills. In Burma there are extensive forests of *Pinus Khasiana* on the high mountains, famous teak forests between the Salwen and Sitoung, and magnificent evergreen forest vegetation in the moister valleys, where trees grow to a height of 200 feet. The Western Gháts are the region of teak and blackwood trees, of poon spars, and of other trees, such as angelly (an *Artocarpus*), vengay, and irul, yielding excellent timber. Teak is probably the most excellent and durable wood known: it is exceedingly light, which makes it valuable for ship-building, and enables the logs to be cheaply floated down the rivers from the deep jungles. Sál (like many other woods) sinks in water, and can only be brought down in cradles.

§ 45. The Botany of India, and its Agriculture.—The number of species of Indian plants known to botanists exceeds 12,000. The great variety and splendour of Indian vegetation is mainly due to the fact that, at varying elevations, there can be found the flora of the tropics, of the temperate zone, and even of the Arctic regions, all on the same mountain-slope.

Rice of many kinds, all believed to be varieties of one species, is cultivated throughout the plains of India, especially in the rich alluvial plains of the Lower Ganges, in the Carnatic, and in British Burma. Wheat is largely

cultivated in the Punjab, and to a somewhat less extent in the plains of the Upper Ganges: the export to England is increasing. Various small-grained grasses (sometimes called millets) are cultivated to an enormous extent, especially in Central India and the Deccan; and these grains, with rice and wheat, form in perhaps nearly equal proportions the staple food of the country. Other grasses very largely cultivated are maize, sorghum (called *jawár*), and sugar-cane, and the many kinds of bamboos. Millions of bamboos are yearly exported from the North-West Provinces down the Ganges. The commonest species has stems forty to eighty feet high, and these stems are used throughout the country for every conceivable purpose in which lightness and strength of wood are required. *Arums*, too, abound; and though these plants are poisonous, the pulp from the roots when cooked is both wholesome and nutritious.

The palms are perhaps the most distinctive feature of Indian vegetation, as they are also one of the most useful. The cocoa-nut palm flourishes best within reach of the saline air from the sea: the finest cocoa-nuts are produced in Ceylon and on the Bengal sea-board, and an enormous amount of coir (for matting, cordage, &c.) is prepared from them. One of the commonest of the palms is the sugar-palm, closely allied to the date-palm of Arabia: it is largely cultivated for sugar, whilst 'toddy' is tapped from the Palmyra, and the betel-nut palm is cultivated for its nut, which is chewed almost universally. In the south of India the beautiful talipot-palm takes the place of the Palmyra: the leaves of both are largely used as fans. The canes or rattans form by their sharp prickles the most impenetrable of all jungles; a single cane has been traced in the jungle for eighty yards without the end being found; in the mountains some kinds are used to make suspension bridges.

Plantains are the cheapest and most generally diffused fruit of India, and, being plentiful nearly the whole year

through, they form an important article of food. The mango is considered the best of Indian fruit, but good mangoes are costly. The *lichhi* is also an excellent fruit, which has been introduced from China. The pine-apple, brought from America, is now abundant everywhere, but is inferior to the American fruit in quality. Oranges are probably indigenous. Mandarin oranges come to perfection in the Sikkim Hills and elsewhere, and the small acid lime is common everywhere. One of the commonest fruits of India, the *ják*, is disliked generally by Europeans on account of its fetid odour. The peach bears fruit freely in Calcutta and elsewhere, but it is of inferior quality; and most English fruits grow in the hills, but the apricot alone attains excellence. In the cold weather most common English vegetables—potatoes, cabbage, cauliflower, peas, beans, asparagus, lettuce, &c.—are freely grown in the plains of Bengal, chiefly for European residents. Yams, called 'native potatoes' by the English, are abundant. The pomegranate and the guava are found throughout India.

Hemp is wild in India, and the intoxicating narcotic called *bhang* is manufactured from it, but its fibre is not used much. A cultivated variety is covered with resinous dots, whence is made *ganjá*, another intoxicating drug. *San*, or Indian hemp, is cultivated for its fibre, but less than formerly: botanically it is not a hemp at all, but has the flower and fruit of the bean tribe. Indigo (which is also of the bean tribe) is cultivated in Bengal for its blue dye. The most important fibre now grown in India is *jute*, which is exported from Bengal to England to the yearly value of nearly four millions sterling. The exports of cotton average in value ten millions sterling per annum, chiefly from Central India, the Central Provinces, and Barár. No cotton is now grown at Dacca, formerly so famed for its fine muslins, of which a whole piece could pass through an English wedding-ring.

Several kinds of coffee are found wild in India: the

Arabian coffee is cultivated largely in Ceylon and on the hills of the south of India, generally at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet. Tea is probably indigenous in Assam; it is cultivated, chiefly by English planters, in Assam, Cachár, the Darjiling Tarai, and Kángra in the Punjab Himálaya; and about twenty million pounds are annually exported. Tea-planting and coffee-planting are popular avocations with Englishmen, because they are carried on chiefly in the cool climate of the hills.

The opium-poppy is cultivated as a Government monopoly in Bihár, and is also grown largely in Málwá, where the Government share of the profit is obtained by a heavy export duty.

Many different kinds of peas, vetches, lentils, and beans, and also of cucumbers and melons, are grown everywhere, and enter largely into the food of the people. The beans called *gram* (by the natives *dháná* and *channa*) are chiefly cultivated as food for cattle, horses, and sheep, but are also eaten by the people.

The *habitats* of the chief forest and timber trees of India have been given in the section on *Forests*. The best of all, the teak, is planted in many parts, and grows wild in the Western Gháts, in the north-east of the Deccan, and in many parts of Further India. The *sál* often grows to the height of 100 feet. The beautiful and fragrant sandalwood is indigenous in Western Mysore and other parts of Southern India. The yew and many kinds of firs—of which the majestic *deodar* or Himálayan cedar is the most renowned—are found in the mountain zones; so is the walnut, and so are many kinds of oak. At high elevations—above 5,000 feet at least—are found the famous rhododendrons which produce such glorious masses of colour in springtime. In India are several hundred species of orchids, including some of the most gorgeous in the world and the tree-ferns of the mountain passes are strikingly graceful.

The large fig-trees, such as the *banyan* and the sacred

pipal, abound in India, and are among its most characteristic trees. The *banyan* is well-known for its habit of dropping roots from its branches, which again strike upward as well as downward on reaching the ground, so that one tree becomes an arcaded grove. Another fig, the *india-rubber tree*, grows wild in the jungles of Assam. It is preserved for the caoutchouc which flows from its aerial roots, and much caoutchouc is also brought in for sale by the jungle tribes on our frontiers.

Gingers are found in great beauty and variety: many are cultivated for their aromatic roots, and arrowroot is prepared from a nearly allied plant. Many kinds of pepper, too, are plentiful, and generally cultivated: the *pán* is a kind of pepper, and the habit of chewing betel-nut and lime wrapped up in a leaf of *pán* prevails throughout India, Further India, and the Asiatic Archipelago. The red-pepper, botanically a very different plant, is also commonly grown. Cinnamons of various kinds are found in most jungles from Ceylon to the Himálayas: the cinnamon of commerce is cultivated chiefly in Ceylon.

There are many wild vines in India, of which the berries are generally hardly eatable: the grape-vine succeeds well, however, in Kashmir and Kábul, whence the grapes are brought to India.

The still waters of tanks and ponds, so numerous everywhere in India, are adorned with the flowers of the lotus, the sacred water-bean; and many most beautiful kinds of water-lily abound.

§ 46. State Encouragement of Agriculture.—The Government of India has long recognised the fact that one of its most important duties is to encourage the agriculture of India by helping the cultivators to improve their methods and to extend their operations.

First must be noticed those kinds of encouragement which the present Government has inherited from its native predecessors, viz. (1) State systems of irrigation, embankments, and roads (for these see Introduction, §§ 63-65),

and (2) *Takávi* advances. These latter are advances made by Government to owners and occupiers, at a low rate of interest, for the construction of minor agricultural works, and generally for the improvement of their estates.

Secondly, there are those kinds of encouragement which have been originated by the present Government, and which generally have been the outcome of modern science: such are, the establishment of model and experimental farms; the introduction and acclimatization of new crops, or improved varieties of old crops; the communication of new and improved methods of agriculture; the publication of meteorological reports to guide cultivators, and of reports or other results of inquiries regarding new markets, new commodities, and new methods. A few instances must suffice. Cotton cultivation has been immensely improved of late years by the extensive introduction of American seed, by the operations of the experimental farms in which hybridization has been perfected and many other improvements effected, and by the discovery and adoption of improved methods of picking, cleaning, packing, and transport. The great tea-planting industry of Assam was commenced by a Government experiment; and a similar experiment with cinchona (for the bark from which quinine is made), and another with ipecacuanha, are now promising to have important results. The production and manufacture of tobacco have greatly improved of late years. Much has been done for sericulture, and for the cultivation of the numerous silk-producing *Bombycidae* that are indigenous in India. Large rewards are at present offered by Government for the perfecting of machinery for turning the abundant *rhæa* or China-grass into fibre, as it is capable of producing a fibre far superior to the jute now so largely cultivated in Bengal.

§ 47. The Zoology of India.—The *fauna* of India is hardly less varied than its *flora*. It is the home of one of the two kinds of elephants (the other being the African elephant) that now remain to us out of the many species

that existed in geological times; and of two kinds of rhinoceros. It may also be regarded as the head-quarters of the *felidæ* of the world, having the lion in Western and Central India, the tiger everywhere (but *not* in Ceylon), the panther everywhere, the black leopard in the north-east, the cheeta or hunting-leopard (found wild only in Central India and Rájputána), two other kinds of leopards, and seven species of tiger-cat.

The hyæna, wolf, jackal, and fox are common throughout India: the jackal, like the dog, is very subject to hydrophobia. The Indian bear is generally distributed, and two other species of bear are found in the Himálaya.

The hills and jungles abound in various kinds of deer; the large *sámbar* in all parts; the spotted deer in the Sundarbans, in Central India, and the mountains of the peninsula. There are four Indian antelopes—the *nil-gai* ('blue cow') being the largest. There are two species of wild oxen; and the wild buffalo is found in the Himálayan Tarai and the Bengal *Sundarbans*.

Monkeys abound everywhere; there are about seven or eight species.

The Gangetic porpoise, a mammal, should here be mentioned; it is found in the rivers of Bengal and Cachár, and an allied species in the Indus river-system. It is much like the dolphin, which is found in the adjacent seas.

There are a great number of species of rats, mice, shrews, and bats in India; the common musk-rat of Indian houses is really a kind of shrew.

Of the birds, we may mention the vulture, the universal scavenger, aided in the rains and cold weather by the gigantic crane called 'the adjutant,' the common kite, and the common Indian crow. The last-named, which resembles in habits the English jackdaw, is by far the most numerous and characteristic bird of the towns, as the green parrot is of gardens and mango-groves. Innumerable herons called paddy-birds appear in the paddy-fields during the rains; and in the cold weather large flocks of wild duck

and wild geese, with several kinds of snipe. Jungle-fowl and pea-fowl are found in the jungles of the plains, whilst in the Himálaya there are several magnificent kinds of pheasants. The humming-birds in India are generally called sun-birds. There are many thrushes, some of them good singers, as the bulbul; but as a rule the birds of India lack the melodious notes of more temperate climates. Several species of falcons are trained by the Hindus for the sport of hawking.

The crocodile (or *mugger*) is common in most of the large rivers of India, and is particularly destructive to human life in a country where bathing is a religious duty as well as a sanitary necessity. The *gárial*, or long-snouted crocodile of the Ganges, is a distinct species, and is believed to live on fish, not to attack men. There are many kinds of lizards; one little species is abundant in houses; whilst everywhere in Bengal the huge *go-sarp* (sometimes six feet long) is common, and dreaded by the peasantry, though really quite harmless.

Many Indian snakes are so intensely venomous that a bite from a fresh snake (that is, from one that has not just lost its poison in biting something else) is certain death to a man. Of this kind the most famous, and the most abundant, is the hooded cobra: it is found in every garden, and as it moves slowly in escape, and is fond of entering houses, it is the cause of several thousand deaths every year in India. The common *karait* (a little snake never two feet long, and often much smaller) is not less deadly; and the *daboia*, a kind of viper, is if possible more so. In Bengal alone there are more than twenty species of deadly snakes; many of these, however, are rare or only found in the hills. The marine snakes, found in the sea on the Coromandel Coast, are most deadly; though most freshwater snakes (very common in the paddy-fields of Bengal) are harmless. There are many pythons or boas that are not poisonous, but kill their prey by compression: these sometimes reach a length of twenty feet.

Of the teeming insect-world of India only a few species can here be mentioned. Many hundreds of species of butterflies are remarkable for their splendid colours. There are at least five or six species of silk-producing moths found in the jungles, and a common moth of the same family (*Bombyx Atlas*) often measures nearly a foot across the wings. Mosquitoes abound everywhere except at elevations above 5,000 feet; so do cockroaches. Locusts occasionally do mischief in Rájputána and the drier regions of the north-west and the Punjab, but they are not common generally. Centipedes and scorpions are found everywhere; and the *tarantula*, or giant-spider, whose bite is very venomous and is said even to cause death sometimes, is found in the south. Ground-leeches abound in the jungles in the rains, and fasten in numbers on the traveller's ankles and legs, and even on his arms and neck. Ants are one of the numerous insect-plagues of India: the famous 'white ant,' however, is really not an ant at all, but the *larva* of another insect, which mines timber, papers, portmanteaux, and household effects generally, and, leaving all outer surfaces perfectly intact, completely riddles the object of attack before its presence is suspected.

Fish are abundant in all the rivers, and form an important part of the food of the population, especially in Bengal. A special department of the State has recently been formed for the inspection of fisheries, and to devise means for preventing the reckless destruction of fish in their breeding-seasons or in an immature condition.

PART V.

METEOROLOGY AND CLIMATE.

§ 48. Meteorology of India. § 49. The Monsoons. § 50. The Rainfall. § 51. Hot-weather Temperature. § 52. Temperature during the Rains. § 53. Temperature during the Cold Weather. § 54. Storms and Storm-waves. § 55. Annual and Diurnal Range of Temperature. § 56. Hill-climates of India. § 57. General Climatic Results.

§ 48. **Meteorology of India.** — The meteorological phenomena of India offer material for study particularly interesting and instructive, for two reasons : *first*, because the meteorological system is complete in itself, and for causes to explain the phenomena we have not to look beyond the limits of the northern mountain-chains and the southern seas ; and *secondly*, because specimens of nearly all the more striking forms of meteorological phenomena can be observed under peculiarly favourable conditions. In this place we can only notice a few of the more prominent features, observing particularly those which affect the climate.

Only about half the area of India is within the tropics : the tropic of Cancer passes about sixty miles north of Calcutta, and consequently a great part of northern India is within the temperate zone. Yet it is on the whole one of the very hottest countries on the face of the earth, being only rivalled by the north-west corner of South America and by parts of Africa. The earth's equator of temperature, or line of greatest heat, passes north and south through Ceylon and the southern part of the peninsula, passing away on the west to South Arabia, on the east to Java. The great heat of India, as compared with other countries under the same latitude, is doubtless to a large degree due to the mighty unbroken wall of mountains by which it is screened on the north from the cold winds from Northern Asia.

There are, however, great differences of temperature—

both of average temperature and of actual temperature at one and the same time of year—in various parts of India. These variations are produced, not only by difference of latitude, but also by various other causes—the prevailing winds, the rainfall, the elevation and dryness of the soil, and so on. We shall first consider some of these causes.

§ 49. **The Monsoons.**—The most striking feature of Indian meteorology is the alternation of the monsoons.

During the cold-weather months—*i.e.* during November, December, and January—the prevailing winds in India are from the Punjab to the hotter plains of Bengal, and also to the seas on both sides of the peninsula; also from Upper Assam to the Bay of Bengal, and from Central India to the Arabian Sea, in all cases conforming to the regular rule that the wind will set from a cold place towards a hotter region. On the land, the course of these winds is much altered by local peculiarities, especially by irregularities of the surface; but on the sea they blow with considerable regularity from the north-east. Hence the period of their prevalence is often called ‘the north-east monsoon,’ but this is a misleading term, except for mariners; it is better to call it the *winter monsoon*. The winter wind is always a very gentle one; storms never occur; in the Punjab and North-West Provinces the air is often quite calm, and the sky is generally clear.

During the rainy months, from June to September, the general course of the wind is nearly exactly opposite to that indicated above. The Punjab is now the hottest part of India, and thither now the winds tend from all parts. In Southern India and Ceylon, the east coast is now the hottest, and thither also the winds tend from the west coast. At sea the direction of the wind is pretty constant from the south-west whence the moist and comparatively cool air from the southern seas is carried, generally with considerable violence, to the hot and parched land. Hence this period is commonly called ‘The south-west monsoon’; but, as in the case of the other monsoon, the term is a mis-

leading one on land, and it is better to call it the *summer monsoon*. So great is the violence with which it blows that the mail-steamers in their passage from Aden to Galle, in Ceylon, are timed to take several days longer during its continuance than at other parts of the year. In Bengal the rains come on gradually; but on the western coast of India the 'burst' of the monsoon is a very striking meteorological phenomenon that has often been described, attended by tremendous electrical disturbance.

The 'hot weather,' *par excellence*, intervenes between the end of the winter monsoon and the burst of the summer monsoon. This period, and the period of the more sudden change from the summer to the winter monsoon, are the times of cyclones and other great storms. In Lower Bengal and Orissa the general set of the wind at this time is from the sea to the highly heated interior; and it is the breath of this breeze that reaches Calcutta from the Bay of Bengal, that makes the nights of Calcutta during this fiery season so much more endurable than those of most parts of India. But this breeze only extends about two hundred miles inland, at the most; in the upper parts of Bengal, and further inland, hot dry westerly winds prevail during the day, dying away to a stifling calm at night. These hot winds are generally very painful and trying; they are worst of all in the desert parts of Sind, Rájputána, and the Punjab, where they are sometimes the veritable *simoom*, fatal to life. Another phenomenon of the hot season in Upper India is the *dust-storms*, which sometimes occur in the afternoon, after the atmosphere has been intensely heated in the morning. They are explained to be caused by the excessively heated air in contact with the ground at some particular point expanding upward, the surrounding heated air rushing violently in to fill the space, and carrying with it thick clouds of dust that fill the upper air. The cooler air above descends to take the place of that which has escaped, and hence a dust-storm is always followed by a refreshing fall in the thermometer.

Generally, on the sea-coast, at the times when no steady monsoon is blowing, the wind blows from the (comparatively) cool sea to the heated land during the afternoon and evening; and from the (comparatively) cooled land to the warmer sea in the early morning before sunrise. These are called the land and sea breezes: at places like Madras, Bombay, and Colombo, the sea-breeze of the evening is looked forward to with longing during the intense heat of the day in the hot weather months.

§ 50. **The Rainfall.**—India in its various parts presents every extreme of climate in regard to humidity. The largest recorded rainfall of the world is that of Cherrapunji, a small station on the southern face of the Khási Hills, where the average exceeds 500 inches per annum. In the deserts of the north-west of Rájputána, and the adjacent districts of Sind and the Punjab, it often happens that not a drop of rain falls in the year, and the average cannot be put at more than 3 or 4 inches per annum; and between these two extremes every variation of humidity is to be found.

The heavy tropical rains of the summer monsoon depend for their intensity, in various parts, on the course of the monsoon and the character of the surface over which it blows. We have seen that the winds of that monsoon reach the shores of India from the south-west, laden with the moist vapours of the Southern Seas. When a chain of mountains runs athwart their course a portion of the air is driven upwards, expands and cools, and so precipitates a part of its vapour in heavy rain. These conditions are most perfectly fulfilled in the case of the Khási Hills; they also hold in the outer Himálayas, Sikkim, and the adjoining countries, the Yomas of Arakan and Pegu, and the Western Gháts. In all these regions the rainfall is prodigious. It diminishes rapidly in proportion to the increasing distance from the hills, but in each case there is a broad belt in which the rainfall exceeds 100 inches every year. These, then (as will be seen by reference to the accompanying

chart), are the regions of maximum rainfall—East and North-East Bengal, Lower Assam, Arakan, and Pegu, the west coast of the peninsula under the Western Gháts, and the west coast of Ceylon.

The summer monsoon, on striking the Himálayas north of Bengal, is deflected in a westerly direction; it sweeps along up the valley of the Ganges through Oudh, the North-West Provinces, and the Punjab; still precipitating its moisture in copious rain, the quantity of which diminishes gradually in its progress. That branch of the monsoon, too, that comes from the Arabian Sea has a great tract of country to pass over before it reaches the Punjab, and some mountain-ranges. Moreover, the great heat of the Punjab, Sind, and Rájputána prevents much condensation; hence these regions are those of minimum rainfall, especially in summer. The average annual rainfall of Lahore is only 18 inches; that of Ráwalpindi, which is much nearer the Himálaya, about 30 inches; whilst that of Multán is only 6 inches.

The summer monsoon, after passing a range of hills (such, for instance, as the Western Gháts), has lost much of its moisture; and on descending into the hotter regions beyond becomes comparatively dry. Hence the *lee* side of such ranges is a region of comparatively small rainfall. Thus, the rainfall of Shillong, the head-quarters of the Assam Government, on the *lee* side of the rainy Khási Hills, is not greater than that of Calcutta—about 60 inches; that of Poona, in the Bombay Deccan, just east of the Western Gháts, is only 26 inches; though not very far from Bombay, where the rainfall (being that of the rainy belt under the Gháts) is more than 70 inches. In Ceylon this phenomenon is even more strongly marked. Near Nuwara-eliya, at the summits of the mountains, there are valleys a few miles to the west which are deluged with the heaviest rain during the summer months, whilst the valleys a few miles to the east are almost cloudless.

In this way the east coast of Ceylon, and that of the

Peninsula (the Carnatic), get comparatively little of the summer rains. But towards the end of the summer monsoon, the heat of the Carnatic having thus become comparatively excessive, the monsoon-wind of the Bay of Bengal becomes deflected to the west, to this hot region; and thus the rains of the Carnatic and eastern Ceylon come chiefly



RAINFALL CHART.

in October and November. Until recently it was supposed that these rains were brought by the beginning of the north-east (the winter) monsoon; but it is now found that as the winter monsoon gradually becomes established further and further south, it brings dry weather to the Carnatic as elsewhere.

§ 51. Hot Weather Temperature.—If we except minor

local differences of temperature, due solely to differences of elevation, we shall find that broadly in the hot summer months, from March to June, the relative temperature of different parts of India is determined mainly by the distance from the cooling influence of the sea and the sea-breezes. In April and May the hottest part of India is Rájputána, with Indore, Bhopál, Barár, and the western part of Nágpur, which regions are all included within an isotherm of 90° . In June the region of maximum heat moves northward to the Punjab; where, allowing for differences of elevation, the average temperature of the day is hardly



ISOTHERMAL CHART FOR MAY.

below 100° . At this season the coolest part of the Empire is Burma, with portions of Assam, with an isotherm of 80° ; and next come Lower Bengal, with the east and west coasts of the peninsula, under an isotherm of 85° .

§ 52. *Temperature during the Rains.*—With the setting in of the summer monsoon the temperature falls considerably in all those parts that are affected by it. The difference is most perceptible in those parts reached by the monsoon that were before hottest, as in Central India; but the Punjab and Sind are still the hottest parts, for there the rainfall is scanty. During September, the high latitude of the Punjab now removing it more from the

heating power of the sun, the region of maximum heat is transferred to the Carnatic and the east coast of Ceylon, where little rain has fallen.

§ 53. **Temperature during the Cold Weather.**—With the approach of the winter monsoon the temperature in the Punjab falls rapidly; and this province has a much colder winter than any other part of India, frosts being sometimes experienced. Indeed, in the cold weather (*i.e.* from the middle of November to the beginning of February) the general temperature depends mainly on the latitude, the heat increasing from the Punjab to Ceylon. In the an-



ISOTHERMAL CHART FOR JANUARY.

nexed chart it will be observed that the isotherms for January are more or less parallel to the lines of latitude; Madras being hotter than Central India and Bombay, the latter hotter than Bengal and the North-West and Rájputána, and the Punjab colder than any.

§ 54. **Storms and Storm-waves.**—The hot-winds and dust-storms that occur in the drier regions of Northern India during the hot season have already been noticed. In Bengal, during the same season, violent thunderstorms, called *nor'-westers*, frequently happen in the afternoon and evening after a very hot morning. They derive their name from the fact that they usually approach Calcutta from the

north-west, and they generally produce a refreshing fall of the temperature.

But by far the most remarkable storms of India, perhaps of the world, are the *cyclones* that originate somewhere in the Bay of Bengal, occurring generally in May, June, October, and November. These are violent revolving storms, in which the wind circulates with great velocity around an area of low barometric pressure—the direction of circulation in the northern hemisphere being, of course, a left-handed one; that is, in a direction opposite to that of the hands of a clock. These storms generally advance from the Bay of Bengal over the land in a direction between north and west. If a place is situated exactly on the path of the centre of a cyclone advancing from the south, the hurricane at first sets in from the north-east, then changes to east-north-east, where it continues with prodigiously increasing force until the central calm comes, when in the course of a few minutes the wind drops altogether. After an interval, varying from a few minutes to almost an hour, the hurricane suddenly bursts again, but from the opposite quarter, the west; and as the storm passes away the wind gradually goes round to south-west. If the place is on either side of the path of the cyclone-centre, of course the veering of the wind is different; and by observing the veering of the wind it is always possible to determine the direction in which the storm is passing. The path of a cyclone is marked by widespread devastation, trees and huts being thrown down in all directions.

As the cyclone reaches the land from the Bay it is generally accompanied by a rising of the sea above its usual level, called a storm-wave. When this enters a shallow estuary like that of the Hooghly or the Megná, the increase of friction causes the water to be piled up to a terrific height; and the wave pours over the surrounding lowlands in a sudden and complete deluge. In the storm-wave that accompanied the great cyclone of October 5, 1864, upwards of 48,000 people were drowned in the

districts surrounding Calcutta; nine steamers, over 1,000 tons burden, twenty-two other ships and steamers, and an incalculable number of small craft, were wrecked in the river Hooghly; and one of the P. and O. Company's large mail-steamers was blown clean out of the water and landed high and dry on the bank opposite Calcutta.

The phenomenon of the *bore*, familiar to all those who have lived on such rivers as the Megná and the Hooghly, is produced by the action of friction between the water of the advancing tide and the shallow bed of an estuary; the friction retards the advance of the water and causes it to be heaped up in a perceptible wave, which at certain conditions of the tide is of considerable height, and often capsizes boats that are caught by it near the shore.

§ 55. **Annual and Diurnal Range of Temperature.**—There is a very wide difference, both in the annual and in the diurnal range of temperature, between various parts of India. The range is, of course, greatest in those provinces that are situated far from the sea and have a dry climate; it is least in the insular and maritime parts. The difference between the minimum temperature and the maximum in the course of the year in many Punjab stations is not less than 100° ; it also is very great in Rájputána and the Central Provinces. On the other hand, at Galle, in the south-west corner of Ceylon, the highest summer temperature of the year is only about 16° higher than the minimum winter temperature. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands have a similar equable climate; next comes British Burma; next the maritime parts of Lower Bengal; and so on.

The average *diurnal* range corresponds with the annual range. In the Punjab it is about 30° on the mean of the year, and 40° in April; in the Central Provinces it is 20° or 25° on the mean of the year, and in March 30° or 35° ; while at Galle it is only $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ on the mean of the year, and the greatest average difference in any one month is less than 9° .

§ 56. **Hill Climates of India.**—The difference of tempe-

rature caused by elevation is, of course, well known to every one. India possesses so many *sanitaria*—hill-stations with a more or less cool climate—at different elevations and with different aspects, as to afford almost every variety of climate. The difference of temperature due to elevation is a little greater in the hills of the Peninsula than it is in the Himálaya Mountains; it is greater in the eastern part of the Himálayas than in the western; and it is everywhere greater in the summer than in the winter. But, broadly, for the whole of India, the difference may be said to be a reduction of 1° of heat for every ascent of from 350 to 500 feet. It must be remembered that this reduction is for temperature *in the shade*; the actual power of the sun's rays in the hills is as great as, or greater than, it is in the plains.

From what has been said about the rainfall, as affected by the course of the monsoon, it will be seen that those hill-stations that lie on the *weather-side* of a range of hills running athwart the course of the summer monsoon will have an exceedingly wet climate; those on the *lee-side* will have a dry climate. Similarly, the hill-stations in the eastern part of the Himálaya (where the summer monsoon *first* deposits its rains) will be much wetter than those further west. Thus, Darjiling, in the Eastern Himálaya, has an annual rainfall of 120 inches; Chakráta, in the west, at a slightly greater elevation, only 58 inches. So Mahábaleshwar, near Bombay, on the western coast of the Gháts, has 260 inches; whilst Poona, at a lower elevation, on the eastern side of the Gháts, has only 31 inches. Cherrapunji, on the weather-side of the Khási Hills, has a rainfall of 500; and Shillong, on the lee-side, only 60.

The hill-stations most frequented by Europeans are generally at an elevation of from 6,000 to 7 500 feet above the sea; and, subject to the minor differences just noted, enjoy an average summer temperature *in the shade* scarcely hotter than that of the South of England. Thus, Darjiling (the sanitarium of Lower Bengal), at an elevation of 6,900 feet, has an annual mean temperature of 54° , and a mean

temperature of less than 60° for the month of May, the month of greatest heat in the plains. Chakráta, one of the sanitaría of the North-West Provinces, at an elevation of 7,000 feet, has an annual mean temperature of 56° , and a mean for May of 65° ; Marri (or *Murree*), in the Punjab, elevation 7,500, annual mean 56° , mean for May 65° ; and so on. Very similar, in point of average temperature, are Simla, Dagshai, Subáthu, Dalhousie—all in the Punjab; Mount Abu, in Rájputána; Naini-tal, Ránikhet, Masuri (or Mussoorie), and Landour, in the North-West Provinces; Mahábaleshwar, in Bombay (rather lower than the rest); Utakamand, and Wellington, both in the Nilgiri Hills, in the Madras Presidency; Nuwara-eliya, in Ceylon; and Shillong, in the Khási Hills, Assam (elevation about 5,000 feet).

For some persons, and even for some Europeans, the climate of the above-named hill-stations is too cold, and the elevation too great. Pachmarhi, the sanitarium of the Central Provinces, at an elevation of 3,500 feet, has an annual mean temperature of 68° ; the Dehra Dún, a beautiful plateau or terrace in the sub-Himálayan region of the North-West Provinces, at an elevation of 2,200 feet, has an annual mean of 70° ; Belgaum, in Bombay, elevation 2,500 feet, annual mean temperature 73° ; Bangalore, in Mysore, elevation 3,000 feet, annual mean temperature 73° ; Hazáribágh, in Bengal, elevation 2,000 feet, annual mean temperature 74° . There are many such stations as these in various parts of India and Ceylon—not quite high enough to be called *sanitaría*, and yet enjoying on the whole an agreeable climate.

§ 57. General Climatic Results.—It has often been observed of English residents in India that those who reside in a particular province generally consider the climate of that province superior to the climate of most other provinces: thus, the Anglo-Punjabi generally thinks himself better off, in point of climate, than the Englishman in Lower Bengal; the latter thinks himself more fortunate

than the Anglo-Madrasi; and so on. The reason of this is, that each province possesses its own advantages of climate, lacking in most other provinces; and as the climate of the particular province would be almost intolerable for Europeans if it did not possess these particular advantages, the English residents naturally pity the lot of those who live in provinces which do not possess them—forgetting that the loss is generally counterbalanced by gains in other directions. We will consider each province in detail.

The Punjab has the great advantage of glorious cold weather—much colder and more bracing than elsewhere, and also longer—in fact, sufficiently cold and sufficiently long to reinvigorate the constitution after the great heat of the hot-weather and the rains. It has also the advantage of possessing many excellent hill-stations, easily accessible from all parts. On the other hand, the heat of the summer, especially in the desert districts of the south, is simply terrific—almost greater than can be borne by Europeans; and moreover this great heat lasts far on into the rainy season, the rains being very light in the Punjab. A Persian proverb enumerates the ‘blessings’ of Lahore—‘heat, dust, beggars, flies, and dead men’s bones.’

British Burma, on the other hand, has a climate nearly the exact opposite of that of the Punjab. Here a moist equable heat throughout the year is the characteristic; in the hot weather cooler and more pleasant than other parts of India, and with not even a suggestion of the fiery dry heat of the Punjab and Rájputána; but excessively steamy in the rains, and with absolutely no bracing cold-weather. For the English denizens of Burma there are no cool hill-stations; in lieu thereof they can only take a sea-voyage, which, however, has generally nearly an equally good effect on the health. The climate of the maritime plains of Ceylon is very much like that of British Burma; but the interior, including all the coffee districts, is elevated, and enjoys a cool climate throughout the year—the only

drawback being the very heavy rainfall, especially on the western slopes.

The climate of Assam, too, is on the whole very much like that of British Burma, except that much of it is considerably higher, and consequently cooler. From the point of view of health here, however, the advantage of the greater coolness is probably more than counterbalanced by the jungly nature of much of the country, which makes it rather malarious and feverish.

Between the extremes of Burma, on the one side, and of the Punjab on the other, are geographically situated the plains of Lower Bengal and those of the North-West Provinces and Oudh; and the respective climates are exactly what we should expect from the geographical position. The hot weather of Bengal is considerably hotter than that of Burma, though happily free (at any rate in the more maritime parts) from the hot winds of the Punjab and Upper India. The rains are here, perhaps, as steamy and stifling as they are in Burma; but the cold-weather months of November, December, and January are far cooler, drier, and more bracing. Much of Chutiá Nágpur, and some parts of Bihár, both in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Lower Bengal, are elevated and dry; and though somewhat hot in the hot-weather they are undeniably more healthful, at least for Europeans, than most parts of India. On the other hand, many districts of Eastern Bengal are even damper than Burma, hotter, and far more malarious. Bengal, too, is not rich in hill-stations; Darjiling (which is very cool and healthy, though rather damp) has only quite recently been made accessible from Calcutta by the Northern Bengal State Railway; and this, the only sanitarium of the province, is still practically inaccessible from many districts.

Taking Calcutta, the chief city of India, by itself, it may be said that there are only about six weeks in the year (September and the first part of October) in which the climate is exceedingly disagreeable—being very steamy,

hot, and still. During the hot-weather months the nights are nearly always cooled and refreshed by a pleasant breeze from the Bay of Bengal; the cold-weather months are perfectly dry, cool, clear, and pleasant. Calcutta, too, has the inestimable (though artificial) advantages of a plentiful supply of the purest water, good drainage, well-built houses, and for the wealthy all the appliances and luxuries that can be devised to ameliorate the climate—including plenty of ice, a richly supplied market, excellent bazaars, and many shops as good as those of London or Paris. The evidence of the death-rate shows that Calcutta is on the whole as healthy as similar cities in Europe; and though for Europeans the mortality is doubtless somewhat higher, the conditions of European life there are by no means so hard as in most tropical countries.

The climate of the North-West Provinces and Oudh is at all times drier than that of Lower Bengal; far less steamy in the rains, and colder and more bracing in the cold weather. On the other hand, the hot weather is far hotter (though not so hot as the Punjab, Rájputána, and parts of the Central India Agency); and here we get those terrible hot winds, described in § 49, which almost scorch the life out of European residents. The province is well off for hill-stations—Naini-Tál, Masuri, Chakráta; one or other of the three being fairly accessible from all parts.

Much of the Central Provinces is elevated land, and enjoys the same climate as Chutiá Nágpur, described above. *During the rains* this part of India, by almost universal consent, is the pleasantest, being cool without any excessive moisture. On the other hand, some of the low-lying valleys are jungly, hot, and malarious; and during the hot weather, except in the highlands, the climate generally is as hot as, or hotter than, that of the North-West Provinces.

Between the climates of the North-West Provinces and of the Punjab may be placed those of the Central India Agency (approximating to the former, though hotter, except in the highlands) and of Rájputána (approximating

to that of the desert portions of the Punjab). Mount Abu, the residence of the chief British political officer in Rájputána, is a pleasant sanitarium all the year round.

In the Madras Presidency the plains of the Carnatic and the valleys of the Ceded Districts are, taking the whole year round, the hottest in India. During the period of the rains in Northern India the Carnatic is rainless, and is absolutely the hottest part of India; the hot weather is as hot, and even the cold weather does not seem cold to those accustomed to the cold of the North. On the other hand, the maritime districts are fanned, almost throughout the year, by a delicious sea-breeze, which springs up nearly every day shortly after noon. Madras, too, is very well off in point of hill climates, the plateaux and terraces of the Nilgiris affording sites for any number of sanitarium, with the finest climate in India, as Uta-kamand, Wellington, Kotgiri, and Kunur; there are also the Sivaraí (Shevaroy) hills, 5,000 feet high, in the Salem district; the hills of the Wainád, of Mysore, of Coorg, and of the native State of Travancore, in many parts of which there are coffee plantations at high elevations and enjoying low temperatures.

In the Bombay Presidency, as at present constituted, there are three regions very unlike each other in the way of climate. There is, *first*, Sind, which is hot and rainless, and exactly similar to the adjoining desert districts of the Punjab and Rájputána; *secondly*, the country between the Gháts and the sea, which is hot and moist, but enjoys a sea-breeze that moderates the heat of the evenings; and, *thirdly*, the elevated country of the Deccan above the Gháts, where the rainfall is small and the country rather parched in the hot weather, but during the rains it is delightfully cool and comparatively dry. Mahábaleshwar is the only frequented hill-station of the Presidency; but Poona and the high country of the Deccan are resorted to in the rains, the period when the climate of the low maritime belt is most stifling and disagreeable.

PART VI.

INDUSTRIES AND PUBLIC WORKS.

§ 58. Agriculture and Land Tenures. § 59. Foreign Commerce.
 § 60. Inland Trade and Communications. § 61. Manufactures.
 § 62. Miscellaneous Industries. § 63. Public Works: Railways
 and Telegraphs. § 64. Public Works: Irrigation. § 65. Roads,
 Harbours, Lighthouses.

§ 58. **Agriculture and Land Tenures.**—India is essentially an agricultural country; the vast majority of its people are engaged in occupations connected with the cultivation of the land, and the resources of both people and Government are mainly derived therefrom. In 1878, out of a total revenue of fifty-nine millions sterling more than twenty millions sterling came directly from land revenue. In the Punjab, according to the last census, out of a total adult male population of 6,200,000, no less than 5,200,000 are returned as actively engaged in cultivation.

The chief products of Indian agriculture have already been described, in the section on *Botany*. They consist mainly of the three great food-staples: (1) Rice, everywhere, but especially in British Burma, Bengal, and the Carnatic; (2) wheat (and some barley and other similar grains), chiefly in the Punjab and Upper India; (3) the millets (under various native names, such as *râgi*, *jowâr*, *chulam*, &c.), everywhere, but chiefly in Madras, Bombay, and the Central Provinces. In addition to these it was shown that an enormous number of other productions, entering largely into the food of the people, are cultivated extensively; such as various kinds of lentils, beans, cucumbers, plantains, and innumerable other vegetables and fruits.

Of the above, some of the rice and an increasing quantity of wheat is grown for exportation; but the bulk is consumed in the country. Of the commodities that are grown chiefly for exportation the most important, in regard

to *value*, is the opium, which was exported in 1878 to the value of more than twelve-and-a-quarter millions sterling; but, in regard to extent of cultivation, the most important is cotton, which was exported in 1878 to the value of ten millions sterling. Next come seeds (linseed, &c.) to the value of seven-and-a-quarter millions sterling; then jute, over four millions; then indigo, three-and-a-half millions; then tea, over three millions; then coffee, over one-and-a-quarter millions. The cultivation of indigo, tea, and coffee is mainly in the hands of European planters settled in the country, who employ and direct native labour. Except in these industries Europeans have very little direct connexion with the agriculture of India, and even in these the employment of native capital is being rapidly extended. All this vast and profitable export trade has grown up within comparatively a few years. The chief development of the cotton cultivation took place in consequence of the American civil war stopping the supply to Europe of American cotton; and the jute trade is still more modern.

In all parts of India agricultural operations are carried on with the aid of bullocks, which are also employed for all purposes of draught and carriage. The cow, being a sacred animal among the Hindus, is not killed for food; but dairy produce is everywhere a most important part of the food of the people. Hence the breeding of stock and the tending of cattle occupy a very large portion of the agricultural population. Owing to the religious scruples of the Hindus, until recently no use was ever made of the abounding herds of India except during life; but lately a considerable export trade in hides and horns has sprung up, which has quadrupled in value during the last ten years, and is now of the yearly value of about four millions sterling. In Madras much trouble has been taken in endeavours to improve the breed of native sheep; and the value of the exports of wool is now about a million sterling per annum.

The system of land-tenure varies greatly in the various

provinces of India, and even in the same province; and the terms of the 'settlement' of land-revenue vary accordingly. The subject is far too complicated to be here considered in detail; a few technical terms may be explained, and the simpler methods of settlement in the various provinces indicated. The immediate cultivators, or actual farmers, are generally called *ryots* (*raiya*s); and in cases where Government collects the revenue directly from them, and treats them as proprietors, the tenure is called *ryot-wári*. Where Government collects the revenue from landholders who themselves settle with their tenants, or ryots, the tenure is called *zamindári*, the landholder being called a *zamindár*; or (under slightly altered circumstances) the tenure is called *tálúqdári*, and the landholders *tálúqdárs* (it should be remembered that the term *tálúq* is also a common term for a certain fiscal area). Under such tenures as the *zamindári* there is often much sub-infeudation, the holders intermediate between the *zamindárs* and the *ryots* having various names, according to the nature of the holding—in Bengal the commonest being the various kinds of *patnidárs* (roughly translated *leaseholders*); but though these intermediate holders often possess fixed and even perpetual legal rights, they have usually no direct concern with the Government settlement of revenue. When the Government demand is settled with village-communities, or the collective members of a hamlet or township, the tenure is called *Bhaiyachara*, or by other names according to circumstances; the district accountants (appointed by Government) are called *kánungoes*, the village accountants (appointed by the landholders) are called *patwáris*. The above are only a very few of the commonest terms of the various Indian systems.

Throughout the greater part of India, the 'settlement' of the amount of the land revenue payable to Government is fixed for a certain number of years (commonly thirty), after careful survey and valuation. These settlement operations take a long time, and employ a large number of

the civil officers of Government, and secure to Government at least a share of the natural increase in the amount and value of production. But in those portions of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal that formed the old Mughul provinces of Bengal, Bihâr, and Orissa the settlement was made *permanent* in 1793; thereby securing to the landholders (here called zamindârs) all the advantages of future improvements and increase in value of land. The old province of Orissa consisted only of the districts of Midnapur, and part of Hooghly, now included in Bengal; the modern province of Orissa is a later acquisition, and the Permanent Settlement was not extended to the whole of it. The Bengal system of land-tenure is, then, *zamindâri*. In Assam a ryotwâri system is prevalent, the settlement being an annual one. In the North-West Provinces the prevailing system is a settlement for thirty years with the village proprietors, the Government share being broadly calculated at about fifty-five per cent. of the assumed rental. There is still very wide difference of opinion regarding the merits of the revenue system of this province, and proposals have often been made to introduce a permanent settlement. In Oudh the settlement is chiefly with the *talukdârs*, who here form a powerful territorial aristocracy, like the *zamindârs* of Bengal. In the Punjab the settlement is very much like that of the North-West Provinces, but the organisation of the village communities is more perfect. In the Central Provinces are found almost all the forms of land-tenure known to India, the commonest being that known as *mâlghuzâri*, where the estate is managed by a single proprietor, and the land is held by cultivators whose rents are thrown into a common stock. With some rather important exceptions the land-tenure of Madras is *ryotwâri*, the settlement being an annual one. Amongst the more famous exceptions may be mentioned some lands called *inâm*, held rent-free in various ways. In Bombay, too, the system is chiefly *ryotwâri*, the settlement being for thirty years. In Sind, however, the tenure is a kind of

zamindári. In Burma the system is *ryotwári*; but the settlement is very light, being here supplemented by a capitation-tax, and also by the rice-duty, which mainly falls on the cultivator.

§ 59. Foreign Commerce.—The total value of the imports of commodities into India for the year ending in 1880 was nearly forty millions sterling; the total value of the exports was about sixty-seven millions sterling. The difference between the value of the exports and that of the imports was paid for partly by treasure (of which about ten millions sterling was imported *into* India, in excess of that carried away), and partly by 'Council Bills.' The Council Bills are payments made in England, partly for the expenses of the Indian Government in England, and partly as interest for capital sunk in the Indian National Debt, in the Indian Railways, &c.

The Indian exports are almost entirely those agricultural productions noticed in the last section. There is, however, a rapidly increasing export of cotton manufactures and cotton-twist and yarn, manufactured in Indian mills; the export has doubled in five years, and is chiefly to China. Manufactured jute, too (mostly in the shape of gunny-bags, sent to Australia and elsewhere for wool-packing), is rapidly increasing as an item of export; and immense quantities of gunny-bags are also used for the internal trade in rice. Seventy-five per cent. of the foreign trade of India is with England and China; but large quantities of raw cotton are now sent to France, Germany, Austria, and Italy. The export of saltpetre, which is produced largely in Bengal and elsewhere, was formerly very considerable, and is now again taking its old rank.

Of the total imports of India more than half consist of cotton goods and cotton-twist and yarn; the vast populations of India being now to a large extent clothed with the cheap cotton fabrics produced in Lancashire. About one-tenth consists of manufactured iron and other metal goods; nearly one-fortieth is railway-plant and rolling

stock. Coal is imported to the annual value of a million; and the most important of the other imports are raw and manufactured silk, manufactured wool, sugar, machinery, provisions, liquors, hardware, and books.

§ 60. *Inland Trade and Communications.*—The export of indigo is not as great as it was some years ago; and the export of raw cotton has diminished since the pacification of America; in nearly every other branch of foreign trade there is a steady increase year by year. But the internal and inter-provincial trade of India is increasing with far greater rapidity, owing to the fact that railway communication and other facilities for the rapid conveyance of merchandise now exist—and are cheap—in regions where not many years ago everything had to be carried in the slow bullock-carts of the country. The modern security of the communications, too, even more than their rapidity, has tended enormously to develop internal traffic. On the great rivers and canals of the country, and especially on the Ganges, the traffic is enormous—the great and rapidly increasing railway traffic tending in no way to diminish the water-borne trade.

Both from its own extent and importance, and from its obvious economical advantages, the inter-provincial trade in food-grains takes the first place in the internal commerce of India; and its full development is now seen to be the true remedy for those terrible famines which have periodically devastated the fairest provinces of the Empire. India is of such vast extent, and its various provinces so diversified in their physical aspects, that the failure of the food-crops in any part can always be supplied out of the surplus harvests of the other parts, under the improved conditions of communication; and when these conditions are further perfected it seems likely that the remedy will be capable of being applied without the deplorable augmentation of prices that has hitherto been a necessary preliminary, and that has caused so much suffering and death.

In recent famines British Burma has taken her place

as a very trustworthy source of rice supply. The large increase in the commercial marine of the country brings the rice to the ports of India rapidly; and thence the great extension of railways and of feeder-roads carries the supplies cheaply to all parts of the interior. In this way, too, and by the rivers, the teeming agricultural wealth of Lower Bengal and the Carnatic is usually available for distribution throughout the country—tending to level prices and to prevent suffering. By these means, also, it is now possible for each part of the country to devote its agriculture mainly to the production of those staples for which its soil and climatic conditions best fit it: for instance, the cotton-growing countries of Málwa and the Deccan, and the jute-growing districts of Dacca and Eastern Bengal, are largely fed from other regions that grow food-grains.

§ 51. **Manufactures.**—India possesses all the requisites, except capital, for the greatest development of manufacturing industry. In her teeming populations, thrifty, sober, and hard-working, she has a far larger and better supply of cheap labour than any other country of the world except China. She has plenty of coal, of iron, of raw cotton, of raw fibre, and of other raw materials. Now that the country has become settled and quiet under British administration, English capital will be more and more freely attracted towards the boundless field; as yet the manufactures of India are only in their infancy.

Bombay is rapidly rising into importance as a cotton-manufacturing centre, there being already a considerable number of large mills in the neighbourhood of the city, chiefly worked by limited companies. The same may be said of Calcutta as a jute-manufacturing centre. The rest of the Indian manufactures are chiefly of the 'domestic' class—*i.e.* carried on at the homes of the manufacturers, generally poor operatives. Of these the most important, as being universal, is the manufacture of the coarse pottery used everywhere in India. It is made by the *kumár*

(potter) caste. Of a similar nature is the manufacture of coarse iron implements, in the iron districts noticed above; of brass utensils, which in Benares and elsewhere are made with artistic ornamentation and designs of considerable merit; of coarse woollens, especially blankets; and some others. Somewhat similar, too, are the numerous local art manufactures—of jewellery, enamel and ornamental ware, shawls, silk and cotton fabrics, and a variety of other beautiful productions—which are generally carried on in families, in which the art is handed on from father to son. The shawl manufacture of Kashmir is famous throughout the world; a single shawl will sometimes occupy the maker from ten to twenty years, and represent the employment of his capital for that period. The same manufacture has been imported by Kashmirian emigrants into two or three places of the Punjab. Beautiful filagree work in silver is carried on at *Cuttack* (*Katak*), in Orissa, and elsewhere; other gold and silver work at Trichinápalli, Tanjore, also in Gujarát, Cutch (*Kach*), Kashmir, and elsewhere. Saddlery and other leather goods are manufactured largely at Cawnpore, and at a few other places. The other considerable manufactures are sugar, indigo, silk, and opium.

§ 62. **Miscellaneous Industries.**—The shipping industry is rapidly rising into importance on the Indian coasts. In the year 1878 more than 6,300 vessels, with an aggregate tonnage of nearly three million tons, were engaged in the *foreign* trade alone; and of these about 3,700 were Indian vessels. But these figures are probably insignificant when compared with the enormous coasting and river traffic. Indian seamen are now largely employed, even in those vessels that go to Europe through the Suez Canal; their sobriety commends them to captains, not less than the low rate of wages for which they serve. It is an interesting fact that much of the trade of Zanzibar, Mozambique, and other parts of the coast of East Africa (including Madagascar), is in the hands of natives of India—chiefly Muhammadans of the Khojah and Bohra

sects—who have settled at Zanzibar and on the north-west of Madagascar.

There is a considerable, and growing, inland frontier trade with Central Asia and Thibet. The trade of the *Povindahs* (literally 'runners') with Central Asia across the mountains of Afghánistan is an old and famous one. The *káfilas* (caravans, consisting of long strings of camels) cross the mountains with escorts armed to the teeth, advance and rear guards, picquets and sentries, like a beleaguered army. They bring from Central Asia borax, gold-dust, and other commodities; and carry thither English cotton goods, &c. The rest of this trade is chiefly by three routes across the Himálaya: (1) through Kashmir, from the Punjab; (2) through Kumaon, from the North-West Provinces; and (3) through Sikkim, from Bengal.

It is sufficient here to mention the extensive fisheries of the coast and the great rivers—including some pearl-fishing on the south coast, opposite Ceylon. In British Burma, Orissa, and Bengal the fisheries supply a very important part of the food of the people; and fish is also largely eaten in the North-West Provinces and the Punjab.

§ 63. Public Works: Railways and Telegraphs.—

Next to the establishment of universal security for life and property, the greatest boon bestowed on India by the English rule has doubtless been the opening-up of the country by railways and feeder-roads. At the end of 1878 traffic was opened on no less than 8,215 miles of railway, carrying thirty-eight and a half millions of passengers, and seven and a half million tons of merchandise. The total cost of these railways has been about 120 millions sterling; and the bulk of this enormous capital has been raised in England by means of 'guaranteed companies' (i.e. companies guaranteed a certain rate of interest by the Indian Government). The *employés* of the various lines now open number more than 142,000; of these more than ninety-five per cent. are natives of India, and rather more

than 3,000 are Europeans. Railway material to the value of about forty millions sterling has been imported into India for the use of these guaranteed companies or for the State Railways.

The great trunk-lines are the following :—

1. Calcutta to Bombay, *viâ* Allahabad and Jabalpur. This line is called the 'East Indian Railway' from Calcutta to Jabalpur; from Jabalpur to Bombay, the 'Great Indian Peninsula' (*vulgò* G.I.P.) Railway; but carriages run through between Calcutta and Bombay.

2. Calcutta to Delhi, Lahore, Jhelam (and ultimately to be extended to Pesháwar), called the 'East Indian Railway' from Calcutta to Delhi, *viâ* Allahabad and Cawnpore; from Ghaziábád (the Delhi junction) to Lahore it is called the 'Sind, Punjab, and Delhi' Railway; and beyond Lahore, the 'Northern Punjab State' Railway.

3. Bombay to Madras, *viâ* Gulbargah and Raichore, called the 'Great Indian Peninsula' Railway from Bombay to Raichore; thence to Madras the 'Madras' Railway.

To make up these three great trunk lines the East Indian Railway contributes 1,503 miles; the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, 1,280 miles; the Sind, Punjab, and Delhi Railway, 663 miles; and the Madras Railway (including also another line from Madras across the peninsula, *viâ* the Coimbatore Gap, to Bepur, on the Malabar coast), 858 miles.

Only inferior in importance to the above great lines are—

1. The line from Madras to the Malabar coast, mentioned above.

2. The *Oudh and Rohilkhand* Railway, from the Ganges at Cawnpore (where also it joins the East Indian Railway) to Lucknow, and then to Sháhjahánpur, 712 miles.

3. The *Eastern Bengal* Railway, from Calcutta to the Ganges at Goalando (159 miles); whence, on the northern

side of the river, the Northern Bengal State Railway (324 miles) traverses the rich district of Central and Northern Bengal to the foot of the Himálayas under Darjiling.

4. The *South Indian* Railway (617 miles) from Madras to Tuticorin, just opposite Ceylon.

5. The *Bombay, Baroda, and Central India* Railway (421 miles) from Bombay to Surat, Bharoch, Baroda, and Ahmadabad; with an important branch to Káthiwár, and to be ultimately connected with the *Rájputána (State)* Railways, which will carry the line on to Delhi, on the East Indian Railway.

6. The *Indus Valley (State)* Railway (915 miles) from Karáchi to Multán, *viâ* Kotri; at Multán it joins the *Sind, Punjab, and Delhi* Railway, thus completing the communication between Karáchi and Lahore.

There are many other 'State' railways—that is, lines constructed by and belonging to Government, such as the *Tirhut* Railway, in Bihár, originally commenced as a famine-relief work. Several of these lines are mainly promoted by the great Native Chiefs whose names they bear; these are 'the Nizam's' railway (121 miles), 'Sindia's' railway (seventy-five miles), 'Holkár's' railway (eighty-six miles), 'the Gaikwar's' railway (fifty-five miles).

Many of the railways here briefly mentioned have a number of more or less important branches. From every station on these 8,215 miles of railway feeder-roads radiate in various directions, opening up the whole country to the commerce of the world.

There are now 240 telegraph-offices in India, connected by more than 42,000 miles of wire. Every railway-station and every important place in the country is thus brought into communication with the telegraph system of the civilised world.

§ 64. **Public Works: Irrigation.**—In every part of India there are now extensive irrigation works, in the way either of wells, or of tanks, or of canals. The Ganges Canal is probably the greatest work of irrigation ever con-

structed; it was commenced in 1848, and was opened by Lord Dalhousie in 1854. It starts from Hardwár; after a course of 180 miles, in the Aligarh district, it separates into two branches, each 170 miles long, one falling into the Jamnah near Etáwah, the other into the Ganges at Cawn-pore. The entire length of the main canals is 614 miles, that of the distributaries 3,111 miles. The irrigation of Bibár by means of canals drawn from the waters of the Son is still more modern.

The chief irrigation works constructed by the ancient native rulers of India were in the shape of tanks, of which many thousands—some so large as to form lakes of several miles in circumference—still remain, and are kept up by the present Government. The great zone of dry country, in which the average rainfall is less than thirty inches per annum (*see* rainfall-chart, page 69), extending down the centre of the peninsula to leeward of the Western Gháts, is emphatically the region of tanks, many of huge size and vast antiquity. This region includes the Deccan districts of the Bombay Presidency, great part of the Nizam's dominions, the Ceded Districts of Madras, Mysore, and much of the Carnatic; and throughout this wide territory a very large portion of the cultivation of the soil depends on the artificial aid of water-storage in tanks. On the other hand, the main feature of the irrigation of Madras is the construction of *anicuts*, or dams, whereby the surplus flood-waters of the great rivers are conducted through many distributaries to fertilise the lower countries: the most famous example of this is in the delta of the Kaveri and Coleroon (or *Kaladam*), by means of which the district of Tanjore is one of the most productive in India. Again, in Gujarát and Khándesh the irrigation is mainly by wells; and it is to the construction and repair of these that the efforts of the district officers of Government are chiefly directed.

We have seen that the most rainless part of India (*see* rainfall-chart) is Rájputána, the lower Punjab, and Sind;

and here from time immemorial the care of every beneficent Government has been to aid the cultivators by the construction of irrigation works. In Sind these works have generally taken the form of leading the waters of the Indus into old deserted channels. In the Multán district the irrigation under native rule was very complete; by its aid a rainless and parched territory was converted into 'a succession of beautiful gardens shaded by date-palms'; and the English rulers have carefully kept up and improved the old works. In Bháwalpur, too, a very complete system was constructed under the auspices of an English political officer; and the canals of the Bári-doáb, in the Punjab, are famous. In Merwára many thousands of wells and tanks have been dug since the commencement of English rule; and to the effect of these is generally attributed much of the improved condition of the Bhils, Mers, and other tribes, formerly little better than savages, of this province.

One of the greatest and most famous of the irrigation works constructed under native rule was the grand canal of Firuz Sháh; this has recently been greatly enlarged and improved; it leads from the Jamnah at the point at which it emerges from the Siválik Hills to Delhi—with some important branches.

In the delta of the Mahánadi the efforts of the irrigation engineers are mainly directed to securing the country against the destructive effects of the sudden floods to which that river is especially liable from the nature of its course. A magnificent series of scientific embankments and canals has now been constructed, which serves both to protect the country from the violence of the inundation and to utilise the water which would otherwise cause so much destruction of life and property.

During the twelve years between the beginning of 1868 and the end of 1878 about ten-and-a-half millions sterling was expended by Government on 'extraordinary' works of irrigation in India; in addition to an ordinary expenditure of about £500,000 per annum.

§ 65. **Roads, Harbours, Lighthouses.**—The construction and repair of roads throughout the country was formerly a heavy charge on the Imperial revenues; this expense is now, however, borne by local ‘road-cesses,’ which are raised and spent under the supervision of local committees. On the other hand, the improvement of the various harbours and anchorages of India has lately received a great deal of attention, and necessitated a considerable expenditure. The construction of Karáchi harbour, the improvement of the port of Cochin, with the adjacent ‘backwaters,’ the lighting of Bombay harbour, the investigation of various schemes for a ship-channel between India and Ceylon, may be mentioned as instances of this activity. The erection of lighthouses along the coast has made great progress; though still much remains to be done in this way, except on the coast of British Burma, which is well lighted. There are nineteen lighthouses on the coast of the Madras Presidency, and nearly as many on that of Bombay.

PART VII.

GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION.

§ 66. The Government of India. § 67. The Local Governments. § 68. The Indian Civil Service. § 69. The Indian District. § 70. The Departmental Services. § 71. The Indian Staff Corps. § 72. Indian Taxation. § 73. Local Self-government. § 74. Public Instruction.

§ 66. **The Government of India.**—In our chapter on the *Political Divisions of India* the political constitution of the Empire was likened to ‘a Federation of Governments and States—all in more or less direct subordination to a central Supreme Government, embodied in “the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council,” representing Her Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress.’

The Supreme Government resides in Calcutta from November to March, and in Simla from April to October;

whence it supervises the administration of the whole Empire. The Viceroy is aided and advised by two Councils, the *Executive Council* and the *Legislative Council*. He has the power of issuing orders that have the force of legislation under certain peculiar circumstances, and with definite limitations; but, broadly, the legislative power belongs to the Legislative Council, of which the members of the Executive Council are *ex officio* members, and of which the Viceroy is the President. In addition to the members of the Executive Council the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal and of the Punjab are *ex officio* members within their respective jurisdictions; and there are also a certain number of 'additional members,' not less than six and not more than twelve, nominated by the Government, of whom at least half must be unconnected with the public service. These 'additional members' give to the Legislative Council something of a representative character. The official half consists of distinguished civilians chosen for their special knowledge of various parts of India; whilst the non-official half consists of native chiefs or gentlemen of rank, with some of the leading merchants and barristers of the Presidency. The Viceroy possesses an absolute power of veto.

The Executive Council, forming with the Viceroy 'the Supreme Government of India,' consists of five 'ordinary members,' with the Commander-in-Chief, who is called an 'extraordinary member.' The 'departmental' system has of late years been introduced, under which each member takes special charge of one department of the State—much as Cabinet Ministers do in England. Thus, there is a member who is Finance Minister; another member who is Minister for Home Affairs, Revenue, and Agriculture; a third who is Minister of Public Works; a fourth who is War Minister; a fifth who is Legislative Minister; whilst the Viceroy himself generally combines with his own special functions those also of Foreign Minister. It will be observed that, with regard to the control of

the army, the immediate responsibility is divided, as in England, between a War Minister and a Commander-in-Chief.

Under each of these members of Council there is a 'Secretary to the Government of India' in the particular department concerned; with, in some cases, a Deputy-Secretary, and in all cases one or more under-secretaries and assistant-secretaries, and a considerable subordinate staff.

The Commander-in-Chief has many high officers attached to him, such as the Adjutant-General, the Quartermaster-General, and others. All these are, of course, military officers, as also is the military member of Council, or War Minister. The legal member of Council is usually an English barrister, appointed in England; the Finance Minister, too, is appointed in England, though occasionally he is chosen from the Indian Civil Service. The other ordinary members of Council are always appointed from the Covenanted Civil Service (see § 68); so are most of the secretaries, under-secretaries, and assistant-secretaries.

Attached to the various great departments of State are also the heads of the minor departments; for instance, the Director-General of the Indian Post Office is attached to the Finance Department, the Director-General of Telegraphs to the Public Works Department, the Surgeons-General and other heads of the Medical service to the Military Department, and so on.

§ 67. **The Local Governments.**—As shown in § 15 the functions of the Supreme 'Government of India' are chiefly supervising and controlling. The direct administration of the country is mainly in the hands of the local Governments. In matters of detail these Governments are more or less independent of the Supreme Government. The relative amount of their independence is indicated by the titles given to their chief officers, as shown below.

But before proceeding to notice the Constitutions of the local British Governments it is convenient briefly to refer

to the position in the Indian Empire held by the Feudatory States. These States are ruled by their own hereditary Princes, who are generally more or less autocratic within their own dominions, and who are connected with the Empire on terms usually strictly defined in treaties, *sanads*, or other documents of record. In all cases there is a stipulation, expressed or understood, that all their external relations (with each other or with foreign Powers) shall be conducted through the medium of the Imperial Government; and there is also a similar stipulation that they shall keep the peace and maintain good government within the limits of their own territories, whilst in return they are guaranteed security from foreign foes, and general protection. In many cases these mutual obligations are largely extended and increased; for instance, most Feudatories are bound to aid the Empire in case of need with troops or money, and many pay a fixed contribution to the Imperial revenues. But the stipulations above mentioned indicate the general principles of the connection between the Empire and its feudatories.

The Governorships of Madras and Bombay, though inferior in size and importance to some other provinces, are more independent of the Supreme Government, inheriting in their constitution the *prestige* of their ancient position as 'Presidencies' at a time when most of the territories of Northern India were not under British dominion. The Governors are aided by a Council. They have their own Commanders-in-Chief, their own army, their own Civil Service; and they correspond direct with the Secretary of State for India in London. They exercise all the patronage within their respective charges; and the recent 'decentralisation' of finance has given them—subject to certain control from the Supreme Government, to certain obligations to contribute for Imperial purposes, and to certain restrictions of general principles—much independence both in the expenditure and in the raising of their own revenues. The Governors are appointed by the

Crown in England; and though occasionally an Indian civilian of extraordinary ability is selected, they are more usually statesmen of English or colonial experience.

The Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal is far larger and more populous than any other province of India. Indeed, this Lieutenant-Governor exercises rule, virtually supreme, over a population larger than that ruled by the Emperor of Germany or any other European potentate, except the Czar. The Lieutenant-Governor has a Legislative Council, but no Executive Council. There is no command-in-chief separate from that of India; whilst the Army and the Civil Service are, in name at least, only a part of the services which work the whole of Northern India from the Punjab to Assam. In all other respects—save, also, that the Lieutenant-Governor does not correspond directly with the India Office, and that he has somewhat less pay and a smaller personal staff—he is on precisely the same footing as a Governor. There are about the same number of secretaries to Government and of under-secretaries in each case; and, except in regard to the army, the same number of departmental chiefs. For instance, under the orders of a Lieutenant-Governor there are, for educational matters, a Director of Public Instruction; for police organisation, an Inspector-General of Police; an Inspector-General of Jails, an Inspector-General of Registration, a Sanitary Commissioner, and so on. The same description applies broadly to the Lieutenant-Governors of the North-West Provinces and of the Punjab, except that neither of these provinces possesses a Legislative Council. The Lieutenant-Governors are appointed by the Viceroy, subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State. In Bengal and the North-West Provinces they are always members of the Bengal Civil Service; in the Punjab the Lieutenant-Governor *may* be a military officer, but is usually a Bengal civilian.

The powers exercised by a Chief Commissioner only differ from those of a Lieutenant-Governor in compara-

tively unimportant points. The patronage in a Chief Commissionership is supposed to belong to the Viceroy; but practically most of it is dispensed on the recommendation of the Chief Commissioner. And in other respects the powers of an 'Administration' (as these minor Governments are sometimes technically called) hardly differ from those of a 'Government,' which is the title given to the ruling authority in a Governorship or Lieutenant-Governorship. It may be added that the title of a Governor (like that of the Viceroy, of the Commander-in-Chief in India, and of the Madras and Bombay Commanders-in-Chief) is *His Excellency*; that of a Lieutenant-Governor and of a Chief Commissioner is *His Honour*.

One exceptional form of Government remains to be noticed, that of Barár—called also '*the Barárs*,' or '*the Haidarabad Assigned Districts*.' As this fine province was only made over to the British Government as security for treaty-payments on the part of the Nizám of Haidarabad, it is in theory administered by its present Government of British officers only in trust for the Nizám. Consequently the officer who is virtually at the head of the Administration is the Resident at Haidarabad; and all surplus revenues, after meeting the cost of government and the secured treaty-payments, are paid to the Nizám.

§ 68. *The Indian Civil Service.*—The title of 'the Indian Civil Service' is, by a curious anomaly that is really a survival of ancient forms, usually restricted to a small portion, a *corps d'élite*, of the actual Civil Service of India; the very heterogeneous remainder being commonly grouped under the title of 'the Uncovenanted Civil Service.' The Civil Service is appointed partly on the results of an open competition held annually in London, partly (but only for natives of India) by nomination in India. By law nearly all the highest appointments in India are reserved for the members of this service, as also are all the chief local executive and judicial appointments, which form the backbone of Indian administration. All district

magistrates and collectors, with their joint and assistant magistrates; all district and sessions judges, all commissioners of divisions, nearly all secretaries and under-secretaries, and heads of departments, must be members of this Service. It nominally consists of three branches—the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Civil Services—the first numbering 572, the second 172, and the third 126. But it is actually distributed somewhat as follows: Bengal and Assam, 248; North-West Provinces and Oudh, about 210; Madras, 167; Bombay, 125; the Punjab, 60; under the Supreme Government, either in the various headquarters departments, or in the Central Provinces, British Burma, Mysore, Coorg, Central India, Rájputána, &c., 60.

The young civilian, whether English or native, on beginning his career is appointed an Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of a certain district, and has to make his way to the head-quarters of that district. Taking the case of a young English officer, who has passed all his examinations in London, and is appointed to Bengal, he first goes to Calcutta, where he learns the district to which he is posted. His pay at first is £480 per annum;¹ but when he passes all his examinations—which may, perhaps, take him about two years—it will be £600 per annum. Somewhere about this period, or perhaps a little later, he may be sent out—still as an ‘Assistant Magistrate’—to take charge of a subdivision of the district, at the head-quarters of the subdivision, which may be from ten to forty miles away from the district head-quarters. Here the young civilian will be the chief representative of the ruling power over a large tract of country. The responsibilities are great, and the life is somewhat lonely, but the experience and self-reliance gathered during

¹ In these calculations, as well as others in which rupees are turned into their sterling equivalent, the rupee is conventionally taken at 2s. This may fairly be considered its permanent value *in India*; though, of course, if it has to be sent to England, the loss on exchange is considerable, the rupee being now worth about 1s. 8½d. only.

this period make it one of the most important parts of an Indian civilian's career. In two or three years more, or perhaps a little longer, he is appointed, first 'acting,' then 'permanent,' or 'pucka' (*pukka*), Joint-Magistrate, with pay varying from about £800 to a little more than £1,000 per annum.

NOTE.—Civilians are entitled to two years' furlough after eight years' service, and thereafter one year after four years; and on leaving for Europe they retain a lien on their permanent appointments, juniors being appointed to 'act' or 'officiate' for them on a certain proportion of their salary. The result of this necessary arrangement is, that a large number of the civil officers, actually at work in India at any one time, are *officiating* for absentees or for those who are themselves officiating for absentees, usually at a salary somewhat greater than that of their own *pucka* appointment, and somewhat less than that of the absentee.

The newly appointed Joint-Magistrate, if he is not already stationed at the district head-quarters—which is called the *sudder* (*sadr*=chief) station—generally has to repair thither. Here his duties are largely, though by no means entirely, judicial; and under recent arrangements for separating the executive from the judicial branch of the Service, he is called upon to decide which branch he will elect for his future promotion. If he elects the judicial branch he will be promoted in due course (generally, roughly speaking, at some period between his twelfth and twentieth years of service) to be, first acting and then permanent 'District and Sessions Judge,' on a pay increasing from about £2,000 to £3,000 per annum, with the chance of ultimately becoming a High Court Judge on £5,000 per annum. If he elects the executive branch he is promoted in like manner to be first acting and then permanent 'District Magistrate and Collector,' with a pay generally similar to that of the Judge; with the chance of becoming a 'Commissioner of Division,' on a pay of about £3,600, and possibly a Chief-Commissioner, with £5,000 per annum, or a Lieutenant-Governor, with £10,000 per annum. There are also, of course, all the numerous high

appointments connected with the staff of the Local Governments, and with that of the Supreme Government, to be filled from the ranks of the Civil Service; and it occasionally happens that a young Assistant or Joint Magistrate is appointed to be an Assistant or Under Secretary to Government, and remains on the central staff to the end of his career. This, however, is very unusual; the course which has been sketched above is 'the regular line' of the Indian Civil Service, from which it generally happens that the central staff is recruited by turns. It may be said broadly that every Indian civilian, with health and good conduct, is certain to become either a District Judge or a District Magistrate; other preferment is not absolutely certain; but it will be seen presently that these officers form the backbone of the Indian system of administration. After twenty-five years' service (of which twenty-one must be spent in India, not on furlough), every member of the Civil Service is entitled to a pension of £1,000 per annum. Part of this, however, is provided by the accumulation of a small percentage that has been deducted from his pay every month during the whole period of service.

§ 69. *The Indian District.*—The district has been well called the '*unit*' of the Indian system of administration. Here there is, from an executive point of view, a little *imperium in imperio*: the Magistrate and Collector is responsible for everything that happens within it, and through him the Government acts in everything. On about a level with the Magistrate, as far as dignity and responsibility are concerned, but entirely removed from all executive cares, is the District Judge, who has not only a very large original jurisdiction, but is also the Court of Appeal for the whole district. Subject to the appeal to the Judge's Court (whence, also, in certain cases an appeal lies to the High Court of the Province, and thence to the Privy Council in England), there are a number of Subordinate Courts, located at various convenient or important places

in the district; these are usually presided over by native judicial officers called *Munsifs*, who are sometimes promoted to the rank of 'Subordinate Judge' (formerly called *sadr amin*). Under the Magistrate, as the chief executive officer, are the Joint-Magistrate, three or four Assistant-Magistrates, belonging to the Covenanted Civil Service; and a larger number of Deputy-Magistrates, who are generally native gentlemen. The Deputy-Magistrates (with sometimes Sub-Deputy-Magistrates) belong to what is called 'the Subordinate Executive Service'; and the *Munsifs* and Subordinate Judges to 'the Subordinate Judicial Service'; both of which are included under the general term 'Uncovenanted Civil Service.' Each district is divided into four or five subdivisions, each administered by either an Assistant or a Deputy Magistrate resident therein; and often conterminous with this jurisdiction is that of a *Munsif*. There is also in each district a District Superintendent of Police (often a military officer), who is the Magistrate's assistant and adviser in police matters, and who has himself one or two Assistant-Superintendents under him. The police force has a large number of petty officers, called in Bengal *head-constables* and *inspectors*, and is itself a sort of irregular military force. There is also generally a District-Engineer, often a military officer, who is responsible both to the Magistrate and also to the Public Works Department for the roads and other public works of the district, and who has under him a staff of supervisors and other petty officers. And there is generally a doctor, called the Civil Surgeon of the district, who is responsible for sanitation, &c., and is also often the Superintendent of the District Jail.

In this manner and with these chief officers is an ordinary Bengal district administered. The Magistrate and Collector is subordinate, and reports to the Commissioner of the Division, which includes four or five districts; and the Commissioner is subordinate to the Board of Revenue at Calcutta, and generally to the Local Government. A some-

what similar description will apply to a district in all parts of India. In Madras there are (at present) no Commissioners, and consequently the Magistrate and Collector has rather more power and responsibility, and generally a larger jurisdiction. In the Punjab, in the Central Provinces, and generally in those newer acquisitions of the Indian Empire which are called 'non-regulation provinces' (because in them the old 'regulations' have not the force of law), the head of a district is called, not Magistrate and Collector, but Deputy-Commissioner; the only important practical difference lies in the fact that there is no District Judge, the Deputy-Commissioner being chief judicial as well as chief executive officer.

The largest district in India is Vizagapatam, in Madras, with an area of more than 18,000 square miles—that is, an area much larger than Switzerland or Belgium, and a population of 2,610,000, which is more than that of Greece or of Denmark. The average Bengal district is about as large as Yorkshire, with a population exceeding that of Wales.

§ 70. The Departmental Services.—We have seen, in considering an Indian district, that the regular Civil Service (called *Covenanted*, because those members of it who are appointed by open competition enter into a 'covenant' with the Secretary of State) is aided by certain Supplementary Services, such as the semi-military Police, the Engineers of the Public Works Department, the Conservators of Forests belonging to the Forest Department, and the Deputy-Magistrates and *Munsifs* of the Uncovenanted Service proper. Of such Civil Services, or Auxiliary Departments, there are many; most are filled by native gentlemen, and the appointments are generally made by the Lieutenant-Governors and other heads of Local Governments.

From a political point of view the most important of these Auxiliary Services is the Political Department, consisting of the Residents, Political Agents, and other represen-

tatives of the Empire in the Feudatory States, with a few others. This service is filled almost exclusively by officers of the Staff Corps (*see* next section), or by members of the Civil Service; and appointments are made by the Viceroy.

The Medical Department (which is officially a branch of the army) is filled up by open competition in England.

The widely diffused Engineer Service, or Department of Public Works, is recruited partly by trained men from the Royal Engineering College at Cooper's Hill (to which entrance is gained by open competition in London), partly from the officers of the Royal Engineers and of the Staff Corps, and partly from local nominations in India. Those who enter this service begin as Assistant Engineers; from which position they are promoted to be Executive Engineers (usually the rank of the officer who has charge of the public works of one district). Thence the promotion is to Superintending Engineer, who generally supervises the Executive Engineers of all the districts in a 'division'; thence to be Chief-Engineer, who is the head of the public works of a province, and whose pay is about £2,000 or £3,000 a year. There are also a large number of Staff appointments connected with this service in the Government of India, and a large number appropriated to the special works of Irrigation, Railways, &c.

The Department of Public Instruction, like the Civil Service proper, consists of two branches; one the superior or 'Graded' Service, under covenant with the Secretary of State; the other the subordinate or Uncovenanted Service. The former is now appointed solely by the Secretary of State in England, and consists mainly of graduates of Oxford and Cambridge selected by the Secretary of State from the Honour Lists of those Universities; the latter is appointed by the Local Governments, and consists mainly of graduates of the Indian Universities. The Graded Education Service is a very small body, numbering only about 100 in all India. A member of it on first appointment is posted to be a Professor in one of the Government

Colleges; his pay begins at £600 per annum, and rises in four years to £900; thence, by promotion to higher grades of the service, to £1,200 in the third grade, to £1,500 in the second grade, and to £1,800 in the first grade. A Professor in course of time is promoted to be a Principal of a College, or an Inspector of Schools for a division of a province; and, finally, he may become the head of the Educational Department of his province, called 'Director of Public Instruction,' whose pay in most provinces is £3,000 per annum.

The Subordinate Educational Service is one of the largest official bodies in India. It consists of deputy-inspectors and sub-inspectors of schools, head-masters and junior masters of Government schools, and of a few sub-professors and lecturers in the colleges. The pay rises from a very small sum to a maximum of £600 per annum. This branch of the department is reserved for native gentlemen; indeed, an increasing number of native graduates are now qualifying themselves for, and being admitted to, the graded Service.

The patronage of the Police department is, perhaps, the most important that is now left in the hands of the local Governments. In each of the larger provinces the department consists of an Inspector-General, whose pay is £3,000 per annum, with a central staff; and a considerable number of district superintendents and assistant superintendents scattered through the various districts. The pay of the latter in Bengal commences at £300, rising gradually to £1,200 per annum for first grade district superintendents.

The Forest Department, on the other hand, is now recruited entirely in England by open competition. The pay and prospects of the officers in this department are generally considered good. Their duties have been indicated in the section on *Forests*.

The appointments to the superior grades of the Finance Department are made by open competition *in India*. The competition is generally very severe; and, although Latin

and French may be taken up as subjects; the prizes not unfrequently fall to clever native students. The pay of this department is on a very liberal scale, rising to between £2,000 and £3,000 per annum in the regular line, besides some central Staff appointments.

The appointments in the Geological Survey, and those in the scientific (electrician) branch of the Telegraph Department, are made by the Secretary of State in England.

The Postal and Registration Departments are both very large indeed; in each one or two of the highest posts in each province are held by members of the Covenanted Civil Service, whilst all the other appointments are reserved for native gentlemen. There are also many other minor departments generally manned in this way.

§ 71. *The Indian Staff Corps.*—Since the abolition of the old Indian Army, the place formerly occupied by its officers has been taken by the officers of the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Staff Corps. The two great peculiarities of the military service of English officers in India have always been, *first*, that many military officers are habitually and permanently employed in civil duties; and, *secondly*, that a large number of English officers are employed with native regiments. The three Indian Staff Corps provide men for these peculiar duties; this is the meaning of the term ‘Staff Corps’ in India—a meaning necessarily different from that which it has in every other country in the world. The Staff Corps consist, *first*, of those officers of the old Indian Armies who were transferred to them on the amalgamation of the English and Indian military services; and, *secondly*, of those officers of the English Army who elect to be transferred to these corps for the particular duties indicated, and who pass certain required examinations. In this way military officers, by joining the Staff Corps, besides becoming eligible for service with native regiments (in which the conditions of service are particularly favourable), may obtain employment in

almost any civil capacity in India. For instance, they may enter the 'commission' of the Punjab, or British Burma, or Oudh, or the Central Provinces (in fact, in any non-regulation province), as Assistant-Commissioner or Deputy-Commissioner—performing the functions of Magistrates and Judges, and possibly rising to be Commissioners, Chief Commissioners, or even Lieutenant-Governors in those provinces. They may become Engineers in the Public Works Department, or Superintendents in the Police Department, or Surveyors in the Survey Departments, or Political Agents in the Political Department, and so on. The career thus open to a military officer who shows any aptitude for mastering the native languages of India is often a very distinguished one. It should be noticed also that the Staff Corps supplies men for the various civil departments of the army in India—Pay, Commissariat, Stud, Clothing, &c.—and also (in part) for the Staff appointments in the departments of the Adjutant-General, Quartermaster-General, Judge-Advocate-General, with the Brigade and Divisional Staff.

§ 72. *Indian Taxation.*—The subject of Indian Finance is too vast and too complicated to be more than glanced at in this book; but it will be well for the student to know the main sources from which the Indian revenues are obtained. It has already been stated that the chief source of revenue is the land, and the extent and nature of this source has been explained. Next to this come the revenues derived from the great State monopolies, opium and salt. The opium revenue comes from the sale of this commodity at a very high price to the Chinese; it has sometimes amounted to more than ten millions sterling in one year. Salt is consumed by every person in India; so that the tax upon it, though so low as hardly to be felt by even the poorest consumer (being only a few shillings per head per annum, spread over the whole year in infinitesimal quantities), yields to the State more than six millions annually. The customs and the *abkâri* (or excise) duties yield about

two millions each, *abhári* being levied on all intoxicating liquors and narcotic drugs. The sale of stamps, which is believed to operate to some extent as a check on excessive litigation, realises between two and three millions. These are all the really important sources of revenue; no other yields alone as much as one million, though the post-office and the telegraphs taken together produce more than that sum; and the contributions from Native States amount to about three-quarters of a million. Two forms of direct taxation (the income-tax, and the license-tax on trades and professions) have sometimes been imposed; but they have generally been at very low rates and for temporary purposes.

In addition to the above revenues a large amount is now raised and expended locally in the various provinces, in the forms of road-cesses, education-cesses, &c.

§ 73. **Local Self-government.**—One of the most interesting features of Indian development during the last few years has been the growth of *municipalities*. Besides the three great Presidency cities there are now no less than 894 municipalities in various parts of the country, with an aggregate population of about fourteen millions, who are thus becoming gradually acquainted with the rudimentary principles of self-government. These municipalities, during the year from April 1, 1876, to March 31, 1877, raised and expended an annual income of about one-and-a-quarter millions sterling. The most important sources of municipal revenue are octroi-duties and taxes on lands and houses within municipal limits; the chief objects of municipal expenditure are (1) conservancy, (2) police and registration, (3) construction and maintenance of roads.

§ 74. **Public Instruction.**—There is a vast system of public instruction in India, from the petty village school up to the great Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. The schools and colleges supported or aided by the State numbered, in 1878, no less than 43,000, with an

average daily attendance of 1,200,000. The total cost (including receipts from fees, endowments, &c.) was about one-and-a-half millions sterling per annum.

Of course the vast bulk of the institutions here enumerated are simple village schools, which only receive a small grant-in-aid from the State, to eke out the tiny fees of the villagers in supporting the schoolmaster. But all these schools are periodically inspected, and at least a certain rude efficiency guaranteed. Then, above these, there are a large number of excellent 'Anglo-vernacular schools,' *i.e.* schools in which English is taught as a language, in addition to the ordinary subjects of a simple education. Then in each *zila*, or district, there is, as a rule, at least one higher-class English school, wherein all the ordinary subjects of a liberal education are taught—English and Sanskrit (or, for Muhammadans, Arabic), taking the place assigned to Latin and Greek in England. These schools are 'affiliated' to the University of Calcutta, or Bombay, or Madras, as the case may be; that is, they send up every year candidates for the 'entrance' or matriculation examination. In the year 1878 there were 2,720 candidates for the matriculation of the Calcutta University, of whom 1,166 succeeded and became undergraduates; at Madras there were 2,495 candidates, of whom 807 passed; at Bombay, 1,049 candidates, of whom 217 passed. On entering the University the undergraduate is required to become a member of one of the colleges. All three Indian Universities are broadly on the model of the London University, and their affiliated colleges are situated in various parts of the country, sending up their students for examination at certain stated intervals. After two years' study in a college, there is the Little-go examination, which is called 'the first examination in arts,' or, briefly, the F.A.; after four years there is the examination for the B.A. degree; and, after a further year, that for honours and the M.A. degree. In all these University examinations the papers are set in English; and the standard is, on the

whole, not inferior to that of the English Universities—the mere pass-standard for the B.A. degree being probably rather higher. Besides the Faculty of Arts there are in each University Faculties of Law, Medicine, and Civil Engineering. The Calcutta Medical School is, in point of average number of students, the largest in the world. About one hundred Bachelors of Arts, thirty Masters of Arts, thirty Bachelors of Law, and ten Bachelors of Civil Engineering annually pass the Calcutta University; about half as many are produced by the Madras University, and about one-quarter by Bombay.

PART VIII.

LITERATURE AND LEARNING.

§ 75. Ancient and Modern Literature. § 76. Ancient Sanskrit and Páli Literature. § 77. Muhammadan Literature. § 78. Modern Vernacular Literature.

§ 75. *Ancient and Modern Literature.*—Though modern learning has vastly increased of late years in India the bulk of its standard literature still consists of the great productions of early ages. By far the greater portion of this literature is to be looked for in the immense stores of Sanskrit learning and poetry handed down from ancient times; with (especially among the Buddhists of Ceylon, Nepal, and Burma) a considerable amount of Páli, a lower form of the same language. Next in importance comes the Muhammadan literature of the Middle Ages, written in Persian or Arabic. And, lastly, there is the modern vernacular literature, daily increasing both in amount and in excellence.

§ 76. *Ancient Sanskrit and Páli Literature.*—The religious literature of the Hindús is commonly divided by them into *Sruti*, or Revelation, and *Smriti*, or Tradition. Under the former head are comprised the *Sanhitás* and and *Bráhmaṇas* of the Vedas; whilst the latter includes

the numerous writings, considered to be supplementary to the Vedas, grouped under the name of the *Dharma-Sāstras*.

There are four Vedas, called the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sāma-Veda, and the Atharva-Veda. Each Veda is divided into two parts: the Hymns or Mantras (*Sanhitas*), which express the wants and aspirations of the worshippers, and hence throw light on the social condition of the people; and the *Brāhmanas*, mainly referring to religious rites and ceremonies. Of these writings the most important are the Hymns of the Rig-Veda, which is the oldest of the Vedas, and the oldest work in any Aryan language (its date is supposed to be about 1400 B.C.). The Hymns are addressed to a deity manifested in the phenomena of nature—to Indra, the god of the sky, often represented as the Supreme God—to Agni, the god of fire—to Varuna, the god of the firmament and of rain—to Savitri, Sūrya, Mitra, names of the god of the sun—to Vāyu, the air—the Maruts, or winds—Ushas, the dawn—the Aswins, and many others. The *Dharma-Sāstras*, though very ancient, are of a later date than even the *Brāhmanas* of the Vedas. They are divided into four classes, the *Vedāntas*, the four *Upa-Vedas*, the six *Vedāngas*, and the four *Upāṅgas*. The third of the six *Vedāngas* is called *Vyākaraṇa*, or Grammar, and is represented by the grammar of *Panini*, one of the greatest grammarians that ever lived, whose date is supposed to be slightly earlier than that of Buddha. The sixth and last of the *Vedāngas* was *Jyotiṣa*, or Astronomy. The earliest astronomer of whom any works remain was the sage *Parasara*. The chief writer on astronomy was called *Aryabhatta*, who lived about 500 A.D.; he affirmed the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, and made other discoveries far in advance of the age in which he lived. A later writer on astronomy, *Bhaskarāchārya*, lived at Bidar, in the Deccan, about A.D. 1100; he is said to have discovered a mathematical process very nearly resembling the *Differential Calculus* of modern European mathematicians. Of the *Upāṅgas* the first was

the *Purána*, or History. The second was the *Nyáya*, or Logic. The third was the *Mimánsa*, or Moral Philosophy. The fourth was the *Dharma-Sástra*, or Jurisprudence. Of this fourth Upánga the best known is the *Mánavadharma-sástra*, or 'Laws of Manu' (see Chap. II.); the law-book of the Mánavas, a subdivision of the sect of the Taittiríyas.

The two great epic poems of the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana will be fully discussed in the text of this *History* (see Chap. I. §§ 3, 4, 5). There are, however, some epic poets of a much later age. Of these Kálidása, better known as the greatest Hindu dramatist (the 'Shakspeare of India'—see next paragraph), wrote the celebrated poem called *Raghuwansa*, or History of the Race of Ráma; beginning with Dilípa, the father of Raghu, and mainly devoted to the celebration of the exploits of Raghu and his godlike grandson, Ráma. The purity of sentiment, and the tenderness and fidelity of the characters represented, are characteristic both of the *Raghuwansa* and of all the other works of Kálidása. He also wrote the *Kumára Sambhava*, or Birth of Kártikeya, the God of War, together with some other poems of the nature of epics. The other great epic poets are Bháravi, Sri-Harsha, and Mágha, whose writings, with those of Kálidása, have been dignified by the titles *Mahá Kávyá*, or the Great Poems. Bháravi is the author of the *Kirátárjuníyá*, which contains an account of the conflict carried on by Arjuna against Siva in the form of a Kiráta, or wild hunter. Sri-Harsha's principal work is the *Naishadha-Charita*, or the Adventures of Nala, Rájá of Nishadha. Mágha is the author of *Sisupála Bodha*, an epic poem on the death of Sisupála. A fifth epic poet, named *Soma-Deva*, is the author of the *Vrihat Kathá*.

We come now to the Sanskrit dramatists. Of these by far the greatest is Kálidása, who is said by the Hindus to have been one of the 'gems of the Court of Vikramá-ditya,' King of Ujjain (see Chap. VII.). His most im-

portant drama is *Sakuntalá*, or the Lost Ring, the plot of which is taken from an episode in the Mahábhárata. It has been translated into English, French, Bengáli, Hindi, and other languages. The plot is as follows: Sakuntalá was the daughter of the great Rishi Visvámitra, by Menaká, who had been sent from heaven by Indra to allure the sage from his austere penances. When Visvámitra returned to his penances Menaká went back to heaven, and Sakuntalá was adopted by the Rishi Kanwa, and subsequently married in the Gandharva manner to the Rájá Dushyanta. Being cursed by a Rishí, named Duvása, she was fated to be forgotten by her husband; but as some remission of this cruel sentence it was decreed that Dushyanta should again remember her on seeing a ring which he had given her. The loss of this ring in the waters of the tank, the grief of Sakuntalá at being disowned by her husband, the ultimate recovery of the ring in the belly of a fish, and the final recognition and happiness of Sakuntalá, are the chief incidents of the play. The son of Dushyanta and Sakuntalá was Bharata, the ancestor of the Pándus and Kurus. It is worthy of note that, whilst the higher classes are represented in the play as speaking the classical Sanskrit, the lower classes speak a debased form of *Prákrit*.

The other great drama of Kálidása is called the *Vikramorvasi*. It is the story of the loves of King Vikrama of Prayág, and the nymph Urvasí, who was changed into a climbing-plant.

The Toy-Cart (*Mrichchhakati*) is the name of a celebrated drama of domestic life, said to be by a certain king named Sudraka. Its scene is laid in Ujjain; its hero a Bráhman named Charudatta, who is a model of virtue, but who has been impoverished by his generosity.

Six other famous Sanskrit dramas remain to be noticed. The first is called *Málati and Mádhava*; it was written by *Bhavábhúti*, a Bráhman of Barár, whose popularity as a dramatist rivalled that of Kálidása. *Bhavábhúti* was also

the author of two other great dramas—the *Uttara-Rāma-Charita* (the plot of which is derived from the seventh book of the *Rāmāyana*), and the *Mahāvira-Charita* (see Chap. I. § 4). The fourth is the *Mudrā-Rākshasa*, by *Viśakhadatta*, wherein is dramatised the revolution by which Chandragupta succeeded the Nandas in the kingdom of Magadha (see Chap. VI. § 3). The fifth is called *Ratnāvali*, or the Necklace, a play attributed to King Harsha of Kashmir, who reigned from 1113 to 1125 A.D. The sixth is a theological and philosophical drama by Krishna Misra, called *Prabodha-Chandrodaya*, or ‘the rising of the moon of awakened intellect.’ It was probably composed in the twelfth century, and its object was the establishment of Vedānta doctrine.

The most famous lyric poem in Sanskrit is the *Megha-Duta*, or Cloud-messenger, by the great dramatist Kālidāsa; and another by the same author is called the *Ritu-Saṁhāra*, descriptive of the seasons. A lyric poem, half dramatic, half pastoral, called *Gita-Govinda*, about the loves of the herdsman Krishna and his shepherdess Radha, was written by Jayadeva about the twelfth century. Jayadeva’s verses are distinguished by the most exquisite melody.

We come now to the *Nītikathā*, or fables and works on ethics. The most celebrated work of this class is the *Panchatantra*, so called from its being divided into five sections, or five collections of stories. It is attributed to Vishnu-Sarma, and is the foundation of a similar collection of fables called the *Hitopadesa*, or ‘Salutary Instruction.’ The *Panchatantra* was translated into Pehlevi by the orders of Naushirvan, King of Persia from A.D. 531 to 599; and hence, under the name of the *Fables of Bidpai* or *Pilpay*, was translated into most of the languages of the civilised world. Its Arabic form, under the name of *Kalila-wa-Damna*, was also very celebrated. The story of the composition of the *Panchatantra* is curious. A certain king had three sons who were deficient in ability and application. He made this known to his councillors, and asked their

advice. A learned Bráhmaṇ, named Vishnu-Sarma, who was present, offered to relieve the king of his anxiety by taking the princes to his house and instructing them perfectly. He then composed for their benefit the five *tantras*, viz. *Mitrabheda*, or 'dissension of friends'; *Mitraprápti*, or 'acquisition of friends'; *Kákolukiya* (the Crow and the Owl), or 'inveterate enmity'; *Sabda-nashta*, or 'loss of advantage'; *Asamprekshyakaritwa*, or 'inconsiderateness.'

Four other works of a somewhat similar character are also celebrated. The first is the *Kathá-sarít-ságara*, or 'ocean of the streams of narrative,' said to have been collected by King Harsha of Kashmir. The second is the *Vetála-Panchavinsati*, or twenty-five stories told by a Vetála or demon. The third is the *Sinháśanadwatinsati*, or thirty-two tales told by the images which supported the throne of King Vikramáditya. The fourth is the *Sukasap-tati*, or seventy-two tales of a parrot.

Three other famous prose works in Sanskrit may be mentioned: the *Kadamvari*, by Banabhatta; the *Basava-datta*, by Subhandu; and the *Dasakumáracharita*, by Dandi.

The sacred writings of the Southern Buddhists were written in Páli (see below, Chap. VI. § 2); and a historical literature in Páli sprang up in Ceylon at an early date—the *Mahawanso* (Sanskrit *Mahāvansa*) of *Mahánáma* having been composed about A.D. 480. Many of the semi-sacred writings of the Ceylon Buddhists were *Játakas*, which are accounts of the previous births or transmigrations of Buddha. The sacred literature of the Jains was written in *Ardhamágadhi*, a dialect closely akin to Páli; the Páli itself being generally considered to be *Mágadhi*, the language of Magadha (see Chap. VI. § 2).

§ 77. **Muhammadan Literature.**—Whilst the sacred book of the Muhammadans, the Koran, was in Arabic, the bulk of their general literature has been written in Persian.

A remarkable change in the character of the literature of India is observable at the time of the Muhammadan invasions. At this period, for the first time, we obtain numerous and valuable *historical* works. This taste for historical literature was inherited from the Arabs by the Indian Muhammadans. The Arabs had been, during the latter part of the Dark Ages in Europe, the chief cultivators of science; and Arabic literature had at a very early period attained a high stage of development. The Persian literature of India was largely indebted to the scholarship of the Arabs. It will be sufficient for our present purpose if we notice a few of the chief historians and poets, authors of the most famous works.

The most celebrated historian of India was Firishtah, who was born at Ahmadnagar about A.D. 1570. He lived at the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II., of Bijapur, from A.D. 1589 to about 1612; and to that monarch he dedicated his great work, the *Tārīkh Firishta*. This is a general history of India, commencing A.D. 975 and terminating with 1605. It was translated into English by Dow, and has been the foundation of the history of the Muhammadan period in India, as given in most English standard works.

Hardly less celebrated is the great historical work of Abul Fazl, the prime minister of Akbar (*see* Chap. XIII.), which is called the *Akbar-Namah*. The first volume of this gigantic work contains the history of the family of Timur, as far as it concerns India. The second volume is devoted to the detailed history of nearly forty-six years of the reign of Akbar. The third volume—by far the most celebrated of all—is called the *Ain-i-Akbari*, or *Institutes* of Akbar, containing a minute account of every department of government, of every part of the empire, and of everything connected with the Emperor's establishments, public and private. The brother of Abul Fazl, named Faizi, was also a very learned man and a great writer. He especially devoted his attention to Sanskrit literature; and

translated into Persian many great Sanskrit works, including the Mahábhárata.

In 1341 an African traveller, named Ibn Batutah, visited Delhi. He was received with great respect, and appointed to the office of judge by the king, Muhammad Bin Tughlak (see Chap. X. § 3). Seeing, however, some evidence of Muhammad's capricious and cruel temper, he resigned his office. The king, without taking offence, attached him to an embassy to China, and thus honourably dismissed him. His *Travels* (which have been translated in English and French) contain very valuable accounts of India.

The chief historian of the later Mughul period was Mir Muhammad, better known as Kháfi Khán. Aurangzeb (see Chap. XIV.) strictly ordered that no history should be written; but Mir Muhammad wrote his in secret during the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign (about A.D. 1700), and hence obtained the title Kháfi Khán (*the concealed*).

There are many other historians, to whose works (some in Arabic, but mostly in Persian) we need only briefly allude. Sultan Bábar wrote *Memoirs* of his own life, which are most graphic and interesting: they were originally written in Turki, but were translated into Persian. Utbi wrote the *Tárikh Yamíni*, the history of the period of Sabaktigín and his great successor Mahmud. Hasan Nizám wrote the *Táj-ul-málsir*, memoirs of the lives of Muhammad Ghorí, Kutb-ud-dín, and Altamsh. It was written at Delhi about the year 1210; it is partly in verse, and contains much Arabic. A more important history is that of Minhaj-us-Siraj, whose work, the *Tabakát-i-Násiri*, is the most trustworthy authority for the history of the Afghán period down to the accession of Balban. Two valuable histories of the later part of the same period are both called *Tárikh-i-Firúz-Sháhi*—one being written by Zia-ud-din Barni, the other by Shams-i-Siraj Afif. Other historians are Abdul-Kadir Badaoni and Nizam-ud-dín Ahmad, who wrote in the time of Akbar; Muatimad Khán, who wrote the *Jahángír-Námah*; Muhammad Bin

Sáleh, who wrote the *Sháh-Jahán-Námah*; Mirza Muham-mad Kásim, who wrote the *Alamgir-Námah*; and Sayyid Ghulám Husain Khán, a relative of the Nawáb Alivírdi Khán (*see* Chap. XX.), who wrote a history of the eighteenth-century Hindustan in the year 1783.

Amongst many others we may mention three very famous Muhammadan poets of India—Ferdausi, Ansari, and Amir Khusrau.

Ansari and Ferdausi were both ornaments of the court of Mahmud of Ghazni. The latter has been called the 'Persian Homer'; he wrote the *Sháh-Námah*, in praise of Mahmud.

Amir Khusrau was one of the illustrious literary exiles who fled from Persia to the Court of Balban to avoid the Mughuls. He wrote an immense amount of poetry, some of which has been considered very beautiful. Two of his most celebrated poems are (1) on the loves of Khizr Khán and Dewál Deví (*see* Chap. X.), and (2) on the meeting between the Emperor Kaikubád and his father, Bughrá Khán (*see* Chap. X.).

§ 78. Modern Vernacular Literature.—The literature of the modern vernaculars of India is of recent growth, except in Tamil, which possesses some mediæval poetry of great beauty.

At the present time the Bengáli literature is the most flourishing. Formerly a mistaken view of the philology of the Bengáli language caused many of the best authors in that language to make their writing Sanskrit rather than true Bengáli; and even now there is a tendency to aim at a highly Sanskritised style, the result of which is a great divergence between the written and the spoken language. Of late years, however, the wider diffusion of critical and philological scholarship has tended to correct this defect of pedantry, and to strengthen and purify the language. A recently published *History of Bengali Literature* by a well-known Bengáli author gives a valuable account of the early growth of the language. There are at the present moment a considerable number of 'standard

authors,' some of great merit. Of recent writers the most famous are the learned Pandit, *Ishwara Chandra Vidyásāgara*, and *Bankim Chandra Chatterji*, a successful novelist and magazine editor, in prose; and *Michael Madhusudan Dutt* and *Iswara Chandra Gupta* in poetry. In the year 1877 the new and original works published in Bengálí amounted to about 550; besides eighty-four translations, most of which were from standard English works, including several scientific treatises.

Next to the Bengálí literature comes the Hindi. Lucknow, Delhi, Lahore, and Allahabad are the great publishing centres. The Hindi pandits take the lead in the editing and publishing of the classical Sanskrit literature. In the year 1877 more than 300 editions of ancient classical authors were published in the North-West Provinces and the Punjab—showing a most remarkable activity in this field of learning. In the Bombay Presidency, during the same year, more than 300 original works were published in the vernaculars, Maráthi and Gujaráti, and 38 translations. In Madras there were 107 original works and 38 translations published, chiefly in Tamil and Telugu.

As might be expected among a people whose religion so much enters into their daily life as is the case with the Hindús, religious publications are more numerous in India than any others—more than 1,200 having been published in one year. Educational works take the next place, with more than 1,100 publications in one year; and then poetry and the drama, with over 800. Fiction is well represented, and works on law are also numerous.

The periodical literature of India is increasing rapidly, both in quantity and in value. About 200 newspapers are now published in the various Indian vernaculars. Many of these are dailies. The literary character of the leading vernacular journals has greatly improved of late. Many magazines, too, are springing up in various parts of the country; some of these, such as the *Banga Darsana* in Bengal, are written in an interesting manner and with much ability.

PART IX.

RELIGIONS AND CUSTOMS.

§ 79. Bráhmanism or Hinduism. § 80. Its History. § 81. Its Modern Aspect. § 82. Avatárs. § 83. Legends. § 84. Hindu Clergy. § 85. Hindu Sects, and Hindu Reformers. § 86. The Bráhma Samáj. § 87. Sikhs. § 88. Buddhism. § 89. Jainism. § 90. Musalmáns. § 91. Pársis. § 92. Hindu Caste. § 93. Obsolete or Prohibited Customs. § 94. Christian Missions.

§ 79. **Bráhmanism or Hinduism.**—Of the 240 millions who inhabit the Indian Empire it is estimated that about 185 millions profess a religion more or less closely connected with, or derived from, the ancient faith of the Aryan Hindus that found its earliest expression in the hymns of the *VEDAS* (*see* Chap. I. § 2). When we look at Hinduism in its present manifold forms of development or degeneration, and consider also its past history, it will be evident that it is (in the words of Monier Williams) ‘like a huge irregular structure which has had no single architect but a whole series, and has spread itself over an immense surface by continual additions and accretions.’

§ 80. **Its History.**—The history of Bráhmanism—its origin in the simple doctrines, partly monotheistic, partly pantheistic, of the *Vedas*—its development into a priestly system as shown in the *Institutes of Manu*, and a series of philosophical systems as seen in the *Darsanas*—its further development into a popular religion, powerfully appealing to human sympathies in the stories of the godlike *avatárs* or Incarnations of Vishnu in the heroic forms of Krishna and Ráma, as shown in the great epics of the *Mahábhárata* and the *Rámáyana*—its final development, not always unaccompanied by degradation, in the legends and traditions of the *Puránas*—will be briefly traced in the course of our first chapter.

§ 81. **Its Modern Aspect.**—Bráhmanism in its modern

aspect has two sides—one esoteric, philosophical, the religion of the few—the other exoteric, popular, the religion of the many; and, as in other religions, the difference between these two sides is wide, in proportion to the ignorance and credulity of the masses and the exclusiveness of the educated and priestly classes.

Philosophical Bráhmanism, based on the *Upanishad* of the Vedas, is a spiritual Pantheism; it teaches that nothing really exists but the one self-existent Spirit called Brahma (neuter), all else is *Máyá*, or Illusion; nothing exists but God, and everything existing is God. 'Men, animals, plants, stones, pass through innumerable existences, and may even rise to be gods; but gods, men, animals, plants, and every conceivable emanation from the Supreme Soul aim at, and must end by, ABSORPTION (or rather reabsorption) into their source, Brahma.'

It is hardly necessary to say that idolatry and polytheism are indignantly disclaimed by the highest teachers of this philosophical Bráhmanism. The numerous gods, represented by images, are regarded by them as simply manifestations of the one universal Spirit. They say 'worship *before* images, not *to* images, is practised by us as a condescension to weak-minded persons;' and again, 'Our sacred books insist on the unity of the Supreme Being, and abound in the grandest descriptions of His attributes: He is "the most Holy of all holies," "the most Blessed of the blessed," "the God of all gods," "the Everlasting Father of all creatures," "omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent," "He is the life in all," "the Father, Mother, Husband, and Sustainer of the world," "the Birth and Death of all," "the one God hidden in all beings, and dwelling as a witness within their hearts."' ¹

Practically, the most prominent dogma of philosophical

¹ An admirable account of the modern aspects of Bráhmanism is to be found in Professor Monier Williams's *Modern India*, from which these quotations are taken.

Bráhmaism is the transmigration of souls, ending only with absorption into the Supreme Being. It is not difficult to see that, in its exoteric and popular side, Bráhmaism (or Hinduism, as it is there commonly called) tends to become a polytheism, in which the 'manifestations' of the Supreme Being, as gods represented by images, are adored by the ignorant worshipper.

§ 82. *Avatárs.*—One of the most interesting doctrines of Bráhmaism is that of Incarnation. Vishnu, as the Pervader and Preserver, is believed to have passed into men to deliver the world from the power of evil demons; his most famous Avatárs, or Incarnations, were *Krishna* and *Ráma*.

The gods themselves were originally regarded as direct emanations from the Supreme Being as personal divinities; and these divine personalities are generally grouped in threes, or multiples of three. We shall see, in Chap. I., that the triad of the Vedas consisted of Indra, Agni, and Surya; that of the later Pauranik religion, better known, consisted of Brahmá (masculine), Vishnu, and Rudra-Siva.

Amongst the young of all classes, amongst women, and amongst the unlearned generally, the lives and deeds of Krishna and Ráma (alluded to in somewhat greater detail in the sections on the *Mahábhárata* and the *Rámáyana*, Chap. I. §§ 3, 4) are still listened to and dwelt on with undying interest and affection.

§ 83. *Legends.*—The Hindus have innumerable legends associated with their religious beliefs, derived chiefly from the great epics and from the Puránas. Of the more ancient legends perhaps the most curious is that of the *Deluge of Manu*, of which the earliest account is that of the *Satapatha Bráhma*. There were no less than fourteen mythological personages named Manu; the *Deluge* is connected with the name of the seventh Manu, who is not to be confused with the lawgiver. The story, briefly told, was to the effect that Manu once found a fish in the water brought to him for washing his hands; and the fish, in

return for Manu's protection, promised to rescue him from a flood that should destroy all creation. He instructed Manu to build a ship; and when the flood rose, Manu fastened the cable of the ship to the horn of the fish—

. . . . Till at length it bore the vessel to the peak
Of Himaván; then softly smiling thus the first addressed the sage :
'Haste now to bind thy ship to this high crag. Know me, the lord
of all,

The great creator Brahmá, mightier than all might, omnipotent.
By me, in fish-shape, have you been saved in dire emergency.
From Manu all creation, gods, Asuras, men, must be produced;
By him the world must be created, that which moves and moveth not.

Professor Williams's translation.

§ 84. **Hindu Clergy.**—It is well known that the hereditary caste of Bráhmans forms the hierarchy of Hinduism; but the English student will do well to remember that in modern times this hierarchy has grown to be a social rather than an ecclesiastical one. Comparatively few Bráhmans actually perform priestly functions, though they still are always the most honoured guests and the principal personages in the performance of the sacred rites connected with the great events of every man's life—such as marriage and funeral ceremonies, the eating of the first rice, and (in the case of the 'twice-born') the investiture with the sacred thread. Families, and sometimes communities, often have their own peculiar *purohitas*, or ministering priests; and these are selected in various ways, as also are the religious teachers of the various sects.

§ 85. **Hindu Sects and Hindu Reformers.**—It has already been noticed that the modern Hindu *Trimurti*, the triad of chief gods or emanations of the Supreme Being, consists of *Brahmá*, the Creator; *Vishnu*, the Preserver and Pervader; and *Siva*, the Destroyer and Renewer. But the worship of Brahmá, though revered by all, has fallen into neglect; and most of the Hindu sects are either *Vaishnavas* (in Bengal pronounced *Boishtobs*), followers of Vishnu, or *Saivas*, followers of Siva. Of Saiva sects perhaps the

most remarkable are the *Lingayats*, followers of Basava (or Busappa), numerous in the southern and western parts of the Peninsula and Mysore; they abjure all respect for caste distinctions and all observances of Bráhmānical rites and usages, and worship no idols but the Phallic emblem and the bull. Widely opposed to these are the *Smártas*, or observers of *Smṛiti* (see *Introduction*, § 76), the followers of the great reformer *Sankara*, who lived about the seventh or eighth century of our era, and who re-established the strict observance of Bráhmānism in Southern India after the Buddhist period. The two great Vaishnava sects of Southern India are the followers of *Rámānuja*, who led a great Vishnuvite revival in the twelfth century, and those of *Madhva*. In Rájputána there is a remarkable Vaishnava sect called the *Vallabhacháryas*, who have a most famous shrine at *Náthdwára* in Maiwár. The great reformer of Bengal was *Chaitanya*, who preached a pure form of Vaishnava worship, and whose followers are still numerous.

§ 86. The Bráhma Samáj.—The latest religious reform is a theistic movement, of which Bengal is the centre, known as the Bráhma Samáj, which now sends missionaries into all parts of India. It originated with Rájá Rámmohan Rái, who died in 1833. It is now led by a Calcutta preacher of remarkable eloquence, named *Keshub Chunder* (or *Kesava Chandra*) Sen, and its chief strength lies amongst the highly educated graduates of the Calcutta University. Its fundamental doctrines are declared by Keshub Chunder to be 'the Fatherhood of God, and the Brotherhood of Man,' and its devotional formulæ largely employ the language of the English Bible.

It may here be noticed that among the more enlightened followers of 'orthodox' Hinduism are many who call themselves 'Theistic Bráhmans,' Theists, or *Vedantists*, who profess a form of Theism evolved from the teachings of the Vedas (see above).

§ 87. Sikhs.—A large proportion of the population of

the Punjab, including most of the upper classes, are *Sikhs*. The name is *Siksha*, a disciple, and means all disciples of the *Guru*, or spiritual teacher—the title specially given to the apostles of the Sikh religion. The sect was founded by Guru Nānak, in the time of Bābar (see Chap. XII. § 1); its doctrines inculcate the worship of one god, in a form resembling Muhammadanism in some points, but it is especially remarkable for the extreme reverence paid to the sacred animal the cow.

§ 88. **Buddhism.**—Within the limits of the Indian Empire Buddhism is mainly confined to British Burma, Nepāl, and to the Himālaya Mountains. Its history and its doctrines will be described in the parts of Chapter I. describing the Buddhist period. In strictness it is an atheistical religion, and its dominant dogma the transmigration of souls ending only (by merit) in extinction. Still, there is evident a tendency to exalt reverence for the memory of Buddha into a worship; and temples are erected over his relics, such as a tooth or a hair. Whilst Buddhism has not any prayers properly so called, nor any clergy for the offering of prayers, it is remarkable for an elaborate and gorgeous ritual, and for the enormous number of monasteries in which the religious devote themselves to the pursuit of *Nirvāna* (extinction) by the suppression of passion. The rosaries and praying-wheels of the Buddhists are famous; yet the form of words unceasingly turned round and round in their praying-wheels—which sometimes are even turned by machinery—are devotional ejaculations rather than prayers. The religion has a lofty morality of universal charity and benevolence.

§ 89. **Jainism.**—Akin to Buddhism is *Jainism*, which is still professed by considerable numbers in Rājputāna and Western and Southern India, especially about Ahmadabad. This religion was formerly believed to have been an offshoot of Buddhism, but it appears to have had an independent origin, and to be of equal or even greater

antiquity. It lays great stress on the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and, as a consequence, it enjoins a care for animal life which is often carried to an absurd extent—e.g. a rich Jaina pilgrim will have his path swept before him lest he should sin by crushing a beetle or an ant unknowingly. As amongst Buddhists, great (and in the case of the ignorant, semi-divine) honours are paid to the memory of Buddha; so, among the Jains, similar honours are paid to the memory of certain prophets or apostles of their religion—*Tirthankaras*, saints who having conquered all worldly desires attained true knowledge. They are divided into two sects, the *Svetámbar*s and the *Digambar*s. The *Digambar*s (or 'sky-clothed') were formerly forbidden to wear clothing, and they still eat naked.

The chief 'holy places' of the Jains are at Mount Abu, in Rájputána, Pálitána, in Káthiáwar, and the Mountain of Paresnáth (the greatest of the *Tirthankaras*), in Hazáribágh, Bengal. Their sacred books are called *Angas*, and are written chiefly in a Páli dialect called *Ardha-Mágadhi*.

§ 90. *Musalmáns*.—It is estimated that about forty-one millions of the inhabitants of India profess Islám; so that the Empire contains a far larger number of Muhammadans than are found in any purely Muhammadan State. Indian Musalmáns (with the exception of immigrants, and descendants of immigrants, from Persia) belong generally to the *Sunni* sect, like the Turks. Some details of the composition of the Muhammadan population were given in § 35. The doctrines of Islám are summed up in the single phrase—'there is but one God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God.' During the last few years the Muhammadans of Bengal and Northern India have made great progress in education and enlightenment; they have a great College in Calcutta, called the 'Calcutta Madrasah,' partly supported by Government, which yearly contributes many learned scholars to the rolls of the Calcutta University; and there are many literary associations of Muhammadans in the chief cities of Northern India.

Of course Muhammadans neither eat nor intermarry with Hindus; but, as the same chasm also divides all the various castes of Hindus, the social separation is not on this account so complete as might perhaps be imagined by Europeans. Certain trades which would be unlawful for Hindus are entirely in the hands of Muhammadans; thus, all butchers are almost necessarily Muhammadan, and so, too, amongst the servants of Anglo-Indians in Bengal, cooks and table-servants are almost necessarily Muhammadan. *Dhirzis*, or tailors, are Muhammadans; and in Bengal, most *syces* (grooms) and coachmen. On the other hand, *dhobis*, or washermen, form a numerous Hindu caste; so do *bhistis* (water-carriers), and the various classes of 'bearers' or house-servants, and *mális* (gardeners).

Inasmuch as the caste and other religious observances of Hindus enter into most of the actions of their daily life, herein there is, of course, a wide distance between Hindus and Musálmans; but here again, as before, the habits of Musálmáns only strike the superficial observer as those of a *caste* distinct from others. The earnest and fearless way in which most Musálmáns rigorously attend to their devotional exercises at the stated times is generally noticed in their favour. Perhaps the most prominent distinction between Hindus and Muhammadans is that connected with their funeral ceremonies—the Hindus burning their dead at a 'burning-ghát,' whilst the Muhammadans bury theirs, often in picturesque cemeteries.

§ 91. *Pársis*.—The *Pársis* are a small but very prosperous and intelligent community, settled chiefly in Bombay (*see* § 43). Their numbers are estimated at 70,000, of whom about 50,000 are resident in Bombay City. Their religion is often called *Zoroastrianism* (from the name of its founder), or *Fire-worship*. It rests on some sacred writings called the *Zand-Avastá*, attributed to Zoroaster, about 500 B.C., and written in the ancient Aryan language of the primitive Persians. It is described as based

on a sort of Monotheistic Pantheism, and regards 'Fire, Sun, Earth, and Sea as the principal manifestations of the one Supreme Being, called Ormazd (the creator of the two forces of construction and destruction, Spentamainyus and Ahriman).' The Pársis wear a peculiar headdress, something like a brown mitre. Their method of disposing of their dead is most remarkable. The bodies are taken into low round towers (the famous 'Towers of Silence'), which are never entered by any living beings except the caste of corpse-bearers, and which are open to the air on top, and here they are exposed in open stone coffins, to be devoured by the vultures which are always in attendance in vast numbers.

Much of the commerce of Bombay is in the hands of Pársis; and the recognised head of that community was, some years ago, created a Baronet by Her Majesty.

§ 92. **Hindu Caste.**—The caste system of India is somewhat difficult to be understood by foreigners, because it is partly a religious, partly a social system; and foreigners find it difficult to distinguish between these two parts of the system. Perhaps it might be accurately described as a social system, maintained and enforced by a strong religious sanction. That the system, as it at present exists, has its disadvantages is not denied by its most intelligent advocates; but they assert, with much apparent justice, that the countervailing advantages are of infinitely greater importance—and that consequently the enlightened Indian reformer should strive rather to correct the evils that exist than to uproot or even to mutilate the system itself.

A Hindu caste consists of a number of families—sometimes of an immense number of families—scattered about in various parts of the country, some very poor and others very rich, but all presumably more or less nearly related to each other, and all governed by the same rules as regards marriage and all other religious and social observances. Caste-fellows alone (with very insignificant excep-

tions) can eat together, or enjoy that close social intimacy that in other communities sometimes exists between friendly families; on the other hand, the caste-rules are absolutely binding on all members of the caste, and the wretched man who breaks these rules and is expelled from his caste becomes a person without a friend or an associate in the world—a social felon, for no other caste (not even the lowest) will receive him.

From this description it will readily be perceived that the advantages and disadvantages of caste must depend mainly on the character of the caste rules. These rules are enforced in each caste by its own elders and its own priests—usually *not* Bráhmans, though Bráhmans may, on solemn occasions, officiate for all. The English laws of India will afford protection from any flagrantly unjust or oppressive decrees of such tribunals, but as a fact they are very rarely appealed against, and are usually efficacious. The crimes, which are punished by fines and penances, thus provided against are: immoral conduct openly persisted in; flagrant dishonesty; neglect of caste laws about marriage, or provision for children or widows, or other helpless relations; neglect of religious ceremonials, eating or drinking with forbidden persons; habitual slander; and, in fact, all kinds of ill-living. In this way caste discipline steps in as an aid to religion, in the preservation of decent morality, and in keeping its subjects from lawlessness. It has been well observed of the Hindu character: ‘Their religion and the priests urge Hindus to good works, to kindness to Bráhmans and the sacred cow, to honour parents and elders and betters, to be kind to dependants, to be charitable to the poor and hospitable to strangers. And whilst these active good qualities are inculcated by their religion, caste discipline often comes in as an aid to religion to forbid and punish vices of all kinds.’

As the whole social system of the Hindus thus hinges on its caste rules, it has followed that the caste system has

been denounced for every point in which that social fabric is at present faulty. For instance, caste-rules enforce early marriage as a religious duty, insist on endogamous marriages (that is, marriage within a small and limited circle), and to a certain extent on female seclusion; and in some castes they make the caste a trade-union. But these defects in the social system of the Hindus—which are acknowledged as defects by most enlightened Hindus—are entirely independent of caste, and they will doubtless cease to be enforced by caste-rules as soon as Hindu society has sufficiently advanced on the path of progress to admit of the necessary reforms.

Among the various castes, and even among the subdivisions of the same caste, there is a recognised scale of precedence. Thus, the social (and almost religious) superiority of Bráhmans is universally acknowledged; and in Bengal *Kulin* Bráhmans take precedence of all other Bráhmans, of whom there are many classes. But education and the incessant redistribution of wealth are rapidly creating other social distinctions not less real, and in ordinary life far more efficient, than that between the Bráhman and the low-caste man; in fact, the respect paid to the Bráhman in India does not differ widely from the respect paid to good birth in all civilised countries, except that in India this respect is enforced by a strong religious sanction. In Bengal the large and important *Kayastha* caste—sometimes called the 'literary caste'—enjoys an amount of social consideration not much inferior to that enjoyed by the Bráhmans; and amongst the titled classes of Bengal—the Mahárájás, Rájás, and Rái Bahádurs—as well as in Calcutta native society, there are to be found representatives of a great many castes outside the pale of 'the twice-born.'

§ 93. *Obsolete or Prohibited Customs.*—That the Hindu social system has less immobility than is usually attributed to it by those who would abolish caste in order to do away with child-marriages and female seclusion, is

proved by the fact that many inhuman practices, generally prevalent fifty years ago, are now obsolete. For instance, the practice known as *sati* (suttee) has long existed only as an historical memory in the provinces of British India, and yet for a long time it was thought to be so intimately connected with Hindu religious belief that the Indian Government did not care to interfere with it, and it was not prohibited until 1829. The word *sati* means 'a chaste or faithful woman,' and was the term applied to those wives who immolated themselves on the pyre of their deceased husbands.

The horrible character of the human sacrifices (called *Meriah*), formerly prevalent among the Kandhs, a wild non-Aryan tribe, has given the custom a fame in Europe altogether out of proportion to the insignificant extent of its practice in the savage mountainous districts of Orissa. It was easily suppressed by Government in 1845. Formerly each Kandh village used to purchase its own supply of victims—generally poor Hindus, kidnapped or bought from the plains. They were fed and petted until the time of atonement arrived; then the Kandhs spent two days in feasting and riot, and on the third day they offered up the victim, shouting as the first blood fell to the ground, 'We bought you with a price; no sin rests with us.'

Far more extensive was the practice of female infanticide; which was, indeed, at one time general amongst the Rájputs of the Punjab and Rájputána, and has been found very difficult to suppress, owing to the expense of procuring suitable husbands for daughters, and to the social stigma attaching to a family having unmarried daughters.

Of a somewhat different character were the once-recognised customs of *samúdh*, or self-immolation, self-torture by devotees, and the like, for they were almost entirely due to extravagant superstition. The most famous form of self-immolation was that in which the victims flung themselves under the Car of Jagannáth. Vishnu's *avatár*, or incarnation as Krishna, is worshipped

in Bengal and other parts of India—and especially at the great temple of Puri, in Orissa—under the name of Jagan-náth, 'Lord of the World'; and once every year, at the *Rath-játrá*, or 'Car Festival,' his image is brought out on a car, with the images of his brother Balaráma and his sister Subhadrá, and the huge mass is dragged along by cords, to which thousands of worshippers attach themselves. These processions still take place at Serampore, near Calcutta, and elsewhere, but are under strict police supervision to prevent self-immolation. It was found that the self-condemned victims were generally persons suffering from leprosy, or some other incurable disorder of mind or body, who sought to hallow their suicide in this way.

In the same way the cloak of religion was used by the highway stranglers, the *Thags* (or Thugs), who declared that their victims were sacrificed to the goddess Káli. These gangs have been entirely suppressed by the Government.

Perhaps one of the most curious of these superstitious customs was the practice of 'sitting *dharmá*.' When a man could not obtain payment from his debtor, or redress from a person who had injured him, or justice from a judge, he would sometimes seat himself at the door of the offending person and resolutely starve himself to death unless he obtained his demand. The practice was made penal in 1820.

§ 94. **Christian Missions.**—The Government of India is, of course, strictly neutral in all religious matters; and the country is a field open to the missionary efforts of all religions, provided that nothing is said or done to imperil the public peace, or openly to wound the religious feelings of others. Amongst the courteous and order-loving natives of India religious disturbances are extremely rare; the only quarrels of this kind that have of late happened occurred a few years ago between the Sikhs and Musalmáns of Amritsar, in the Punjab, the Sikhs objecting to

allow Muhammadan butchers to slaughter kine in or near their sacred city. Although Christian missions, from various causes, have never been very successful in India, there is probably no country in the world where the work is attended with less actual annoyance or obstruction. Protestant missions have prospered in the extreme south of India (especially in the district of Tinnevely), also amongst the Kols and other jungle-tribes of a low type of civilisation in the highlands of the Central Provinces, and among the Karens and similar tribes in British Burma; in the more advanced countries of Bengal and Northern and Western India the efforts of Protestant missionaries have of late been chiefly concentrated on the education of the young, the result being the establishment of a very large number of schools and colleges in which the Bible is regularly read and explained.

The pages of Gibbon have familiarised English readers with the early history of Christianity in India. There are many legends of the evangelising labours of St. Thomas the Apostle, and of his martyrdom at Meliapore; and though these traditions lack historical support yet it is certain that there were Christian converts in Ceylon and on the southern Malabar coast before the close of the second century. Of the famous mission despatched by Alfred the Great under Sighelm, Bishop of Sherborne, Gibbon sneeringly suggests that they 'collected their cargo and legend' at Alexandria; but long before this period there were large bodies of Syrian Christians in Malabar, owning the authority of the Nestorian Patriarch of Selenica.

The most heroic chapter of the history of Indian missions is that which recounts the life and death of the first and infinitely the greatest of the Jesuit missionaries, St. Francis Xavier. Though he was the bearer of pontifical and regal credentials he went out in the garb of an ascetic to live a life of the hardest privation and most unceasing toil. On his voyage—to quote Sir John Kaye's words ('Christianity in India,' p. 17)—'he pillowed his

head upon a coil of ropes, and ate what the sailors discarded; but there was not a seaman in that labouring vessel, there was not a soldier in that crowded troopship, who did not inwardly recognise the great soul that glowed beneath those squalid garments; no outward humiliation could conceal that knightly spirit, no sickness and suffering could quench the fire of that ardent genius.' The Indian converts of this apostolic ardour are stated, by Catholic writers, to have numbered not less than 700,000; churches rose at his bidding in hundreds of villages on the western coast, in Ceylon, in Travancore, and even in the distant lands of Malacca, Java, and Japan. His labours, his sufferings, and his triumphs seem to have been alike unparalleled; and he died a glorious death, caused by the privations he had endured, just when he was about to attempt to introduce Christianity into China, towards the close of 1552.

It was not long before disputes about jurisdiction arose between the Romanist successors of St. Francis Xavier and the descendants of the old Syrian Christians of Malabar, who looked up to the authority of the Patriarch of Babylon. As long as the Portuguese power was predominant on the coasts of India the Romanists had the better of this controversy; but the Nestorians reasserted their independence as soon as the Portuguese had given way to the superior enterprise and energy of the Dutch.

At the present moment the Roman Catholics of Ceylon number 186,000, whilst the Protestants of that island number 54,000. The Christians of India were returned at the last census as numbering 897,682; but in the returns there is no distinction drawn between Roman Catholics and Protestants, though the former are, of course, in a large majority.

The first Protestant mission to India was a Danish one at Tranquebar; and the old Danish settlements of Tranquebar and Serampore have always been the head-quarters of Protestant efforts, which were there formerly allowed

greater liberty than in the dominions of the East India Company, whose traditional policy of strict religious neutrality was opposed to even the faintest suspicion of encouraging missions. Ziegenbalg was the first missionary at Tranquebar, and he was partially supported by the English 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.' To him and his colleagues belong the glory of having initiated that method of spreading Christianity which is now generally recognised as the one most suited to the needs of India and least likely to cause disturbance or ill-will—namely, the translation of the Bible into the native languages, and the education of the young. Ziegenbalg landed at Tranquebar in 1706; and in 1750 the famous *Schwartz* joined the same mission. This great man thoroughly mastered the Tamil and other vernacular languages, and by his earnestness and energy acquired immense influence amongst the natives of Southern India—especially with the Rájá of Tanjore, at whose capital he settled in 1777. Such was the magic virtue of the fame of his holy life that Tippú, when told that the English wished to send an envoy to him, replied, 'Let them send the *Christian* (Schwartz) to me; I need fear no deceit from him.' When he died, full of years and of honour, and bemourned by the tears of the Tanjoreans, the English East India Company set up a statue to his memory in the principal church of Madras.

Kiernander was the first Protestant missionary in Bengal, and he was invited thither from the South Indian Mission by Clive in 1758. But the most famous of the Bengal missionaries were the three great Baptists, Carey, Ward, and Marshman, who made Serampore the centre of Oriental Biblical literature, and the fruit of whose labours is still to be seen in a vast number of Biblical translations. Carey landed at Calcutta in 1793, and after some struggles for subsistence set up a printing-press at an indigo-factory at Malda, of which he had been put in charge. His colleagues arrived in Calcutta in 1797, but narrowly escaped immediate deportation by the authorities, who were afraid

lest native opinion should take alarm at the advent of so many missionaries. The consequence of this was that the whole community took up their residence at Serampore, under the protection of the Danish flag; there they laboured and died, and there is now peacefully continued (though under British rule) the work which they commenced.

In fame only second to the Serampore missionaries was Henry Martyn, a missionary chaplain in the service of the East India Company. In 1814 the first Bishop of Calcutta was appointed; and that see has since been adorned by such well-known names as those of Heber, Wilson, Cotton, and Milman. But the ecclesiastical establishment of the Indian Government is not a missionary one, as its duties are to minister to the spiritual wants of the Christian servants of the Government, especially the British troops; and even Henry Martyn's labours, as long as he remained in India, were mainly directed to the translation of the Bible and similar works, in addition to his ordinary clerical duties amongst his own countrymen.

THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONQUEST OF INDIA BY THE ARYAN-HINDUS.

§ 1. Sources of the early history. § 2. The historic teaching of the Vedas. § 3. The legends of the Mahābhārata. § 4. The legends of the Rāmāyana. § 5. The historic teaching of the Epics.

§ 1. **Sources of the Early History.**—In very ancient times in India no one ever thought of sitting down and writing an account of the events which he saw or heard of as occurring in the country; and in consequence of this negligence no trustworthy history was written in India until after the Muhammadan conquest—*i.e.* until some period not nine hundred years ago. All we know, therefore, about the earlier history of this country must be derived, not from regular histories or annals, but from other sources, such as legends or ancient popular tales, hints collected from ancient religious or poetical writings, references to Indian affairs by the historians of other countries, hints derived from the writings on coins, or ancient inscriptions on stone or metal, and other sources of which we need not speak here.

The information about early Indian history, derived in this way, may be broadly classified as follows:—

1. The history of the Aryan origin of the Hindus, and of the Aryan invasion of India, derived mainly from philological inquiries into the Sanskrit language—the speech of these Aryan invaders—and from hints to be gathered from their sacred books, the *Vedas* (*see next section*).

2. The history of a subsequent age, sometimes called *the Heroic Age*, derived mainly from a similar sifting of

incidental evidence to be extracted from the great epic poems of the Hindus.

3. The history of the *Bráhmañic Age*, that ensued on the subjugation of Hindustan during the heroic period, derived from a consideration of the laws of that age that are still extant.

4. The history of the subsequent Buddhist period, and of the Greek connection with India, derived largely from Buddhist and Indo-Greek coins, from inscriptions on stone or metal (especially the famous inscriptions of Asoka), from a sifting of the evidence of the sacred writings of the Northern and Southern Buddhists (found respectively in Nepál and in Ceylon), compared with the contemporaneous writings of the Chinese pilgrims who visited India during this period, and (above all) with those of the Greek authors who wrote about the invasion of India by Alexander and the subsequent relations of the Greeks with India.

5. The history of the Bráhmañic revival that followed the expulsion of Buddhism, and of the long dark age of 'Mediæval Rájás,' who ruled the country for many centuries before the coming of the Muhammadans, derived from the later religious writings of the Hindus (called the *Puráñas*), and also from the annals and ancient poems of the Rájput royal families, which were generally handed down in the traditions of the Rájput bards, and reduced to writing in a later age.

§ 2. The Historic Teaching of the Vedas.—The accounts both of the early Aryan invaders and of their predecessors in the country are mainly derived from an examination of the Hymns of the Vedas, the most ancient religious books of the Aryans, supplemented by the hints derived from investigations into the languages of the various Aryan tribes, and from a comparison of the manners, customs, and languages of the non-Aryan tribes at present inhabiting some parts of India.

It has been stated already (*see* Introduction, § 76) that

there are four Vedas, called the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda, and the Atharva-Veda. Each Veda is divided into two parts: the Hymns or Mantras (*Sanhitās*), which express the wants and aspirations of the worshippers, and hence throw light on the social condition of the people; and the Bráhmanas, mainly referring to religious rites and ceremonies. Of these writings the most important are the Hymns of the Rig-Veda, which is the oldest of the Vedas, and the oldest work in any Aryan language (its date is supposed to be about 1400 B.C.). The Hymns are addressed to a deity manifested in the phenomena of nature—to Indra, the god of the sky, often represented as the Supreme God—to Agni, the god of fire—to Varuna, the god of the firmament and of rain—to Savitri, Surya, Mitra, names of the god of the sun—to Vayu, the air—the Maruts, or winds—Ushas, the dawn—the Aswins—and many others.

From the Rig-Veda we learn that the aborigines of India—called herein Dasyus, Rákshasas, Asuras, or Pisúchas—were a dark-complexioned race, who did not worship the gods of the Aryans. Many of these aboriginal tribes were very powerful and offered great resistance to the invaders. One of their chiefs was called Sambara, who is said to have dwelt forty years upon the mountains, and to have possessed one hundred strong cities. The non-Aryans were, however, ultimately conquered; some were driven to the mountains and forests, where (as we noticed in the Introduction) they are to be found at the present day; some probably retained their power and became highly civilised, in the South of India; and others were reduced to slavery; and, ultimately mixing with their conquerors, formed the lowest class of the modern Hindus.

With regard to the invaders of India language teaches us that they belong to a race (called Aryan or Indo-European) which included the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Persians, and most of the modern nations of Europe, such as the English, Germans, French, and many others. All

these nations originally lived together as one tribe, inhabiting a country abounding in mountains, lakes, and forests, and possessing a rather cold climate—probably the elevated country of Central Asia about the banks of the Oxus. The European tribes were the first to leave, one by one, this early home of their race; the Persian and Hindu Aryans seem to have long remained together. Finally these too separated; and the Hindu Aryans directed their march, through the Hindu Kush and Himálaya Mountains, towards the plains of India.

These Aryan invaders were settled, during the centuries to which the Vedas chiefly refer, in the Punjab. The Saraswatí (a small river between the Sutlej and the Jamnah, which now loses itself in the sands of the desert) at this early period flowed into the Indus; and from the sacred character which is usually ascribed to it,¹ it is believed to have flowed through the centre of the chief Aryan settlements, which were probably located on its banks during many hundreds of years. They were a people partly pastoral, partly agricultural. That they had attained a certain degree of civilisation is obvious from the fact they they possessed houses, chariots, mailed armour, ships, and merchandise. The system of government was apparently a patriarchal one—the head of the family being the chief of the tribe and also its priest. The country, created or frequented by the Devatas, or gods of the Vaidik Aryans, is called *Brahmávarṭta* by Manu; and it is probable that this name was meant to include all that part of the Punjab which was occupied by this race before it penetrated further into Hindustán.

Gradually the Aryan invaders, crossing the Saraswatí, began to push their conquests southward and eastward in Hindustán. The period of their advance has been called the Heroic Period of Indian history, and probably occupied many centuries. They appear first to have occupied

¹ Some great authorities identify the Saraswatí with the Indus.

the country from the Saraswatí to the Ganges, called by Manu *Brahmárshi-desá*, or the country of divine sages, the peculiar country of the Bráhmans. Then they passed on to the *Madhya-desá*, or middle land, extending as far as the junction of the Jamnah and the Ganges, and from the Vindhya mountains, on the south, to the Himálayas, on the north. And finally they became masters of the whole country, from the Western or Arabian Sea to the Eastern Sea, or Bay of Bengal, called *Arjávartta*, or the land of the Aryans.

It is obvious that many social, religious, and constitutional changes must have occurred amongst the invaders during the centuries of their slow advance down the valleys of the Jamnah and the Ganges. At the commencement of this period they probably still retained the patriarchal simplicity of the Vaidik times. Gradually, as many clans or families united for purposes of warfare, the heads or chiefs of some of these clans got more power than the rest, and became Rájás or Kings. At the same time they ceased to act as priests for their clans, finding it more convenient to employ substitutes; these substitutes gradually became the hereditary priests of the people; and in this way it is probable that the Bráhmanic priesthood sprang into existence during the Heroic Period. At first they were doubtless subservient to the military class, called the Kshatriyas; and they probably remained so during the times of war and disturbance that accompanied and followed the Aryan conquest of Hindustán. But when the invaders began to settle down peaceably in their own country the Bráhmans commenced a series of encroachments on the power of the Kshatriyas, which terminated in the complete supremacy of the former. The establishment of the power of the Bráhmans, and the humiliation of the Kshatriyas, probably occupied a long series of years; but it is represented in the legends as having been accomplished in one bloody war. The Kshatriyas are said to have slaughtered a tribe called the Bhrigus; and in revenge Parasu Ráma twenty-one times extirpated the whole race

of the Kshatriyas. This is obviously an exaggeration; the truth probably being that those Kshatriyas who refused to acknowledge the Bráhmānic system were conquered and slain or banished.

The language of the early Aryan-Hindus, the Sanskrit, of which we get the earliest known form in the Vedas, is one of the most beautiful and most perfect languages of the world. It forms the basis of most of the modern languages of Northern India (*see* Introduction, Part III.). It reached its highest development in the great epic poems of the Hindus, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*. The events commemorated in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* appear to have occurred at undefined periods during the Heroic Age, and are reproduced in the poems, mixed up with an infinite number of additions and exaggerations.

§ 3. The Legends of the *Mahābhārata*.—The *Mahābhārata* is a vast storehouse of legends, containing (it is believed) one hundred thousand stanzas. It is said to have been compiled by Vyāsa; but Vyāsa means simply an arranger, and seems hardly to be a proper name—the same name being given also to the compiler of the Vedas.

The poem consists of a main story (the Great War between the Pándavas and the Kauravas) and a large number of long and important episodes.

The legend of the Great War is as follows:—

A royal family, said to be descended from the Moon, and hence called the lunar race, had removed from Prayág (or Allahábád) to Hastinápura, a town on the Ganges not very far from the site of the modern Delhi. Bharata had been king of this city, and was ancestor of two brothers—the younger named Pándu, and the elder Dhritarāshtra. Pándu ruled the kingdom successfully for some time, but at length abdicated, and retired with his wife and his five sons (the Pándavas) to the jungles of the Himálayas. Dhritarāshtra succeeded to the throne in his brother's absence. Before long Pándu died in his mountain retreat; and his widow Kunti and his five sons, the

Pándavas—Yudhisthira, Bhíma, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sahadeva—returned to Hastinápura, to the protection of Rájá Dhritaráshttra. The Rájá had a hundred sons (the Kauravas or Kurus), of whom the eldest was Duryodhana, and there was great jealousy between the Pándavas and the Kurus, which was increased by the nomination of Yudhisthira as Yuvarája, or heir-apparent of his uncle the Rájá, who was now blind. The tutor of all the young princes was a Bráhmaṇ named Drona, who had come to live at Hastinápura, on account of an insult received from the King of Panchála, a neighbouring principality. The jealousy at length grew to such a pitch that Dhritaráshttra was persuaded to send away the Pándavas to Váranávata (the modern Allahabad). Here their cousin Duryodhana, the eldest of the Kauravas, endeavoured to destroy them by burning their house, which he had caused to be made of lac; but they fled, and were enabled to get away safely by a report that they had been burnt in the fire. In the meantime Drupada, the King of Panchála, had proclaimed a Swayamvara (*see* below), to find a husband for his beautiful daughter Draupadí. The Pándavas attended. Arjuna won the lady, who became the joint wife of the five brothers. In consequence of this powerful alliance the Kauravas agreed to give up to the Pándavas a part of the realm of Hastinápura; and the latter built a capital for themselves at Indraprastha, the site of the modern Delhi. Yudhisthira, the eldest of the Pándavas, being triumphant, performed the great sacrifice called the Rájasúya (*see* below), to indicate his position as an independent Rájá. Duryodhana now challenged Yudhisthira to a gambling-match. The latter lost all he possessed, and finally staked and lost himself and his wife Draupadí. The latter was grossly insulted by the victorious Kauravas, but was finally (by order of the blind old king Dhritaráshttra) allowed to depart with her five husbands; and they all went into exile for twelve years in the jungles. In the thirteenth year of their exile they went in disguise to a city called

Viráta, whose Rájá they helped in a war against the Kauravas. Krishna, afterwards worshipped as an *avatár* or incarnation of Vishnu, had several times appeared as an ally of the Pándavas, and is represented as a hero or demi-god of the first rank. His part in the poem is so important that he has sometimes been considered the real hero of the Mahábhárata. He now endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the cousins, but failed; and thereupon followed the catastrophe of the whole poem. The two parties, with their respective allies, met on the bloody field of Kurukshetra. Krishna, the Rájá of Viráta, and the Rájá of Panchála helped the Pándavas; Drona and the Rájá of Madra were the chief allies of the Kauravas; and on the battle-field appeared the ancestors of most of the princes of India of later times. The battle lasted for eighteen days. All the Kurus except three were slain, when the fighting ended. These three, however, in the succeeding night treacherously murdered all the Pándava troops in their sleep, with the exception of the five brothers and their wife Draupadí. The Pándavas were now triumphant, and Yudhisthira was Rájá of Hastinápura as well as of Indraprastha. But they were miserable at the loss of all their relatives. They resigned the kingdom, and with their wife retired to the Himálayas, where they were translated to heaven by Indra.

There are many well-known and important episodes in the Mahábhárata. A beautiful philosophical dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna, just before the commencement of the great battle of Kurukshetra, is called the *Bhagavadgita*. It is an illustration of Yoga doctrine (see below), and was probably a late addition to the poem.

Another beautiful episode is the legend of the lovely *Sávitri*, and her devoted love for her husband Satyavan. She ultimately saved him from the death to which he had been fated, by her importunity in demanding his life from Yama, god of death.

The most celebrated of these episodes is the exquisite

story of *Nala and Damayanti*. Damayanti was the beautiful daughter of Bhima, King of Virdarbha or Barár (see Introduction, § 32), and Nala was the youthful Rájá of the neighbouring kingdom of Nishadha. They loved one another; and Nala won the hand of Damayanti at the Swayamvara, in spite of the opposition of four gods who also loved the damsel. Hereby he attracted the jealousy of the demon Kali, by whose machinations he subsequently lost all his possessions in gambling, and retired in despair to the jungles. He was accompanied by the faithful Damayanti, but deserted her in the forest at the instigation of the demon. The poem is mainly occupied with the wanderings of Damayanti, her return to her father's court, her long search for the lost Nala, and their final happy reunion.

The *Harivansa*, or Family of Vishnu, forms a sort of appendix to the Mahábhárata. It recounts the adventures of Krishna and the fate of his family, but commences with an account of the creation of the world, and of the patriarchal and regal dynasties.

Another episode is *The Story of the Deluge of Manu*, corresponding to the Deluge of Noah (see Introduction). The story of Sakuntalá, the subject at a later period of a beautiful drama by Kálidása (see Introduction), also appears in the form of an episode in the Mahábhárata; and there are many others—all the episodes occupying about three-fourths of the poem.

§ 4. **Legends of the Rámáyana.**—The scene of the Mahábhárata was mainly laid in the north-west of Hindustán; but the scene of the Rámáyana is far more extended in its range. The Aryan Hindus are represented in the Rámáyana not only as possessing rich and powerful kingdoms in Ayodhyá and Mithilá (the modern Oudh and Tirhút), but also as penetrating into the forests of Gondwána and the Deccan, and even invading Lauká, the modern Ceylon. The author of the poem was Valmíki. He is thought by some to have lived in the age of Ráma, who is the hero of the legends.

Ráma, afterwards worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu, was the eldest son of Dasaratha, king of the rich and prosperous city of Ayodhyá or Oudh; of the race of Ikshwáku, said to be descended from the sun, and hence called a solar race. He had three half-brothers, of whom one was Bharata, son of Kaikeyí, the second wife of Dasaratha; and the others were Lakshmana and Satrughna, sons of Sumitra, a junior wife. Lakshmana was the ever-faithful friend of Ráma, whilst Satrughna was devoted to Bharata. By snapping the great bow of Mahádeva possessed by Janaka, King of Mithilá, Ráma won for his bride the lovely Sítá, the daughter of Janaka; and his brothers married the three other princesses of Mithilá. Dasaratha, overjoyed at the heroism of his son, attended his nuptials; and on his return to Ayodhyá prepared to celebrate the elevation of Ráma to the dignity of Yuvarája, or heir-apparent.

At this time the happiness of the royal family was marred by the malice of a waiting-maid, who excited the jealousy of Queen Kaikeyí, and induced her to demand the office of Yuvarája for her son Bharata. Dasaratha had long before promised Kaikeyí to grant her any two boons she pleased to ask; and the queen shut herself up, with tears and shrieks, in the *Krodhágara*, or chamber of anger, until the old king consented, in the utmost misery, to banish Ráma for twice seven years, and to instal Bharata as Yuvarája.

Ráma piously prepared to obey his father's commands, and endeavoured to console his mother Kausalyá, his wife Sítá, and his brother Lakshmana. The two latter refused to leave him; and in their company the hero left the city amid the wailings of the people.

Every step of the wanderings of Ráma is well known by tradition, and the journey is annually traversed by thousands of pilgrims at the present day. From the banks of the Ghogra he went to those of the Gumtí, thence to the Ganges, in the neighbourhood of Allahábád,

and thence into the district of Bundelkhand. Here he was affectionately visited by his brother Bharata, who had sternly refused to profit by the machinations of Kaikeyí; and by him he was told of the death of his father Dasaratha, and was implored to return and take the kingdom. Ráma refused, declaring that he must fulfil his father's vow; and for ten years he and Sítá and Lakshmana continued to wander from hermitage to hermitage in the great forest of Dandaka, probably the forests of Central India.

At length the famous hermit Agastya presented Ráma with a bow and weapons of miraculous power, and advised him to live for the remainder of his exile at Janasthána, on the banks of the Godávari. These forests were at that time inhabited by Rákshasas (or monsters) and monkeys, who are generally believed to represent the aboriginal tribes. A woman among these Rákshasas fell in love with Ráma; and being repelled by him, invoked the vengeance of her brother Rávana, the demon king of Lanká, or Ceylon. Rávana by a stratagem succeeded in carrying off the faithful Sítá to his palace in Lanká.

Ráma, in his pursuit of Rávana, was aided by the king of the vultures, by Sugriva, the king of the monkeys, and especially by Hanumán, the monkey-general; under which names, again, there is doubtless concealed a reference to an alliance between Ráma, the Aryan invader of South India, and some of the aboriginal tribes. By the aid of the gods and the monkeys a bridge was built from the mainland to Ceylon; and after many vicissitudes Rávana was slain, and Sítá was recovered. Sítá, having undergone the trial by fire to prove that she had been faithful to her husband, was joyfully received by Ráma at the command of Agni, the god of fire; and the hero, accompanied by his wife and brother, by his monkey-allies, and by the brother of Rávana, who had joined the invaders, returned to Ayodhyá in triumph. They were received gladly by Bharata, who immediately surrendered to Ráma the kingdom which he had held in trust for him.

The story of Ráma is traced thus far in the first six sections of the *Rámáyana*; and the same part of the story forms the plot of Bhavabhuti's famous drama the *Maháviracharita*. The seventh section of the *Rámáyana*, probably added at a later date, gives the sequel, which is also the plot of Bhavabhuti's *Uttararam-charita*—Rámá's subsequent life at Ayodhyá, his jealousy of Sítá and her banishment, the birth of his two sons, his recognition of them and of the innocence of his wife, their reunion, her death, and his translation to heaven.

'It is noteworthy,' says Professor Williams, 'that the legends of Ráma have always retained their purity;' and the adoration of this noble-minded and guileless incarnation of Vishnu, and the memory of his pure and devoted wife, have ever exercised a beneficial influence on the morality of Hindustán. The name of Ráma, as 'Ram! Ram!' is a common form of salutation at the present day.

§ 5. The Historic Teachings of the Epics.—As the *Mahábhárata* doubtless refers to real quarrels that occurred amongst the invading Aryans during their conquest of Hindustán, and to real struggles between those Aryans and the aboriginal tribes, so in the fabulous stories of the *Rámáyana* there is doubtless a reference to a real invasion of South India and Ceylon by an Aryan conqueror in very early times. No portion of these conquests was, however, retained by the Aryans; for long after, in B.C. 546, Ceylon was still inhabited by *Rákshasas* (monsters, *i.e.* unconquered aborigines), who are said to have been subsequently conquered by the Hindu warrior Vijaya. Amongst the Dravidian races of the southern coast of India there are still ancient families who bear the name of *Ikshwáku* or *Okkáku*, Ráma's ancestor.

It has been stated above that the events referred to in these poems occurred at various undefined periods in the Heroic age of India. The compilation of parts of the *Mahábhárata* was probably later than that of the *Rámáyana*, but as

a rule the historical facts concealed under the legends probably refer to a much earlier time. This is, however, opposed to the opinion of perhaps the majority of Hindu scholars, who not only regard the Rámáyana as more ancient than the Mahábhárata, but also believe that it refers to an earlier period. But it appears that the Aryans were, at the time referred to in the Mahábhárata, mainly settled in the upper valleys of the Ganges and Jamnah; whilst in the time of the Rámáyana they had full and peaceable possession of Oudh, and were pushing their conquests into the South of India.

The habits of the people described in the Mahábhárata were primitive; their patriarchal households, under the mild despotism of the head of the family or clan, were most simple in their arrangements. Even those who are described in the legends as Princes and Rájás tended cattle and cleared land by burning down jungle; they marked the calves of their herds at stated periods, and regularly performed most of the usual labours of farmers and rustics. Their meals were also simple; they were prepared by the mother or wife, and women took their meals humbly after the men. Flesh-meat and wine appeared at their banquets. All the men of a clan were brought up together and trained to defend their crops and cattle against enemies and robbers; and thus they were all more or less proficient in pugilism, wrestling, archery, throwing stones, casting nooses, and the use of the rude weapons of the age. Other marks of this warlike period were: (1) a wife was carried off as a prize by the conqueror of the husband; (2) the notion that a challenge to fight should always be accepted, that a third party should never interfere whilst two combatants are fighting, that death is to be preferred to dishonour, and that revenge is more or less a virtuous action. The belief that the soul of a dead hero can be comforted by the society of a favourite female appears to have been the origin of the later rite of *Sati*, or widow-burning. This revolting rite, however, was probably not

generally established till many centuries later.¹ The most degrading custom of this early age was polyandry, or the marriage of one woman to many men, as exemplified in the case of Draupadī. The commonest vice was gambling.

Between the age described in the Mahābhārata and that described in the Rāmāyana many years and perhaps many centuries elapsed, during which the Aryan-Hindus completed and settled their conquests in Hindustān. Of this period there is absolutely no history, except such as may be derived from the hints in the two poems themselves. Many of the episodes in the Mahābhārata, probably added at a later period, appear to refer to this time, wherein the Aryan heroes are described as fighting against the black-skinned aborigines, who are sometimes called Daityas, sometimes Asuras, and often represented as Rākshāsas (monsters), or Nāgas (serpents).

In the Rāmāyana the habits of the people are described as much more civilised and even luxurious than in the Mahābhārata. The primitive simplicity of the patriarchal household had disappeared; and, though there is great exaggeration in the accounts, it appears certain that there must have been a good deal of wealth and luxury in the palaces of the Mahārājās. Polyandry no longer existed; nothing remained of it except the Swayamvara (*see* below). Polygamy (the marriage of one man to several women) and even monogamy (the marriage of one man to one woman, as in the case of Rāma and Sītā) had taken its place; and the main moral purpose of the Rāmāyana was to expose the evils of polygamy in the family quarrels that resulted from it in the palace of Dasaratha.

Three remarkable customs or ceremonies, frequently spoken of in the epic poems, remain to be described.

The SWAYAMVARA, or public choice of a husband by a

¹ It is true that Mādri, the favourite wife of Pāndu, became *Satī* on her husband's funeral pile, to prove that she was the best beloved; but this story is probably a later addition to the original legend.

damsel amongst many suitors, was not unknown in the earliest Vaidik times, for the two Aswins were said to have won their bride in this manner at a chariot race. In the same way Draupadī was won by the Pándavas, and Bhánumatī by Duryodhana, in archery contests; so also Damayantī was won by Nala. The custom consisted in the father of a marriageable damsel inviting all the eligible suitors for her hand to a festive assembly, and that suitor who most distinguished himself was usually chosen as the husband. The *tournament*, in the chivalrous age of Europe, appears to have been a modified form of the Swayamvara.

The ceremony known as the RAJASUYA was partly a coronation-feast to celebrate the accession of a Rájá, or his triumph over neighbouring Rájás, and partly a religious sacrifice. Animals were sacrificed and roasted, and duly offered with hymns and invocations to the gods; and were also served up at the national banquet to the kinsmen, neighbours, and tributary Rájás.

Another ceremony, used for asserting supremacy or sovereignty, was the ASWAMEDHA, or horse-sacrifice. It was more important than the Rajasuya, and indicated greater power on the part of the Rájá who performed it. A horse was taken of a black colour or else 'pure white like the moon, with a yellow tail and a black right ear,' and was allowed by the Rájá to run loose, with certain public ceremonies. From that day and for a whole year the horse was followed in its wanderings by the Rájá and his army. This was a direct challenge to every Rájá into whose territories the horse might wander. If the Rájá succeeded in conquering all the Rájás who resisted him or who tried to take away the horse, he returned in triumph at the end of the year to his own city, attended by all the subdued chieftains; and the Aswamedha was brought to a close by the sacrifice of the horse, and a grand banquet in which the flesh of the horse was eaten by the Rájá and the most distinguished guests.

CHAPTER II.

THE RISE OF BRÁHMANISM—THE LAWS OF MANU.

§ 1. The rise of the power of the Bráhmans. § 2. The Laws of Manu. § 3. Their date. § 4. Manu's caste-system. § 5. The Government. § 6. The Village system. § 7. The Administration of Justice. § 8. Religion and Manners.

§ 1. **The Rise of the Bráhmans.**—The Aryan conquest of Hindustán, effected during the period treated of in the Mahábhárata and the Ramáyána, was mainly carried out whilst the Bráhmans were employed as mere animal sacrificers, and before they had attained political power. During the rise of the Aryan-Hindu empires the Bráhmans may have occasionally struggled to assert their supremacy; but in so doing they met with considerable opposition from the Mahárájás. In the early times the latter were their own priests; and marriage rites were performed, not by a Bráhman, but by the father of the bride. Gradually, as the Aryan conquests became more settled, and wealth and luxury increased, sacrifices became larger and the Mahárájás began to employ priests as their substitutes in religious ceremonies. In this way the Bráhmans came to be regarded as the medium of communication between the people and their gods. They seem to have practised astrology, and to have assumed the possession of supernatural powers. Finally they asserted for themselves a divine origin from Bráhma, the Creator, whom they now exalted above all the Vaidik deities; and consequently took upon themselves to put down the popular gods, to prescribe new religious doctrines, and to introduce numerous rites of purification and consecration. They were now necessarily present at the ceremonies in connection with every birth, marriage, and death. The prayers and incantations of the Bráhmans were supposed to be always necessary to insure the long life and prosperity of individuals and families; to procure a favourable seed-time and an abundant harvest; to promote the success of every

undertaking ; to purify the water of wells and strengthen the foundation of dwelling-houses ; and to ward off every danger. In this way they gradually acquired that power over the minds of the people which was shown in the Laws of Manu (the *Mánava Dharma Sástra*), and which made them the most despotic priesthood ever known in history.

§ 2. **The Laws of Manu.**—The Laws of Manu are one of the *Smritis*, or *Dharmasástras*. They were compiled long after the full establishment of the power of the Bráhmans, and hence labour to magnify that power in every way. They afford a good general view of the state of India and of Indian society, as it existed from that period to the time of the Buddhist rule—*i.e.* for several centuries *before* 300 B.C.

§ 3. **Their Date.**—The actual date of compilation was probably about 300 years B.C., or even later ; indeed, it is expressly stated in Manu that extensive portions of India and powerful kingdoms were in the hands of heretics, obviously referring to the Buddhists (*see* Chap. V.). The Aryans had now conquered the whole of Hindustán from Gujarát to Bengal ; but the Bráhmans had not probably advanced further to the east than Kananj, on the Ganges. The Aryans were directed to choose their Bráhman preceptors from Brahmárshi-Desa, the country of Bráhman Rishis.

§ 4. **Manu's Caste System.**—The distinct and authoritative settlement of the early caste system is one of the most prominent features of the Laws of Manu. The four castes were : (1) the Bráhman, or priestly caste ; (2) the Kshatriya, or military caste ; (3) the Vaisya, or industrial caste ; (4) the Sudra, or servile caste. The three first castes were called 'twice-born' ; and all the laws tend to their elevation and to the depression of the Sudras. The most striking points in the caste system as it existed at the times of these laws were :—

First, the extraordinary dignity and sanctity accorded

to the Bráhmans, for whose good all other persons and all things were thought to be made; some of their privileges were also enjoyed, but in a far smaller degree, by the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas.

Secondly, the bitter contempt and even hatred felt and displayed against Sudras; their only duty was to serve the other castes, and especially the Bráhmans; but, if they were unable to obtain any service, then they were allowed to earn a precarious subsistence (but never to get rich) by means of handicrafts. This degraded condition of the Sudras seems to indicate that they were the remains of conquered races, the conquerors being the 'twice-born.'

Thirdly, the absence of any provision for the regular performance of the mechanical arts and handicrafts, when the Sudras were able to find service as prescribed in the law.

It may be noted that the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes are said by some to be now extinct; though the Rájputs and a few other tribes claim to be descended from the former, and a few industrial tribes call themselves Vaisyas. The great majority of Hindus at the present day belong to castes unknown in the time of Manu (*see* Introduction, § 92).

§ 5. *The Government.*—The government in the various States was under a Rájá, whose power was despotic, according to the arrangements of Manu, except that he was bound to abide by the advice of the Bráhmans. It is a noteworthy fact that as the power of the Bráhmans increased, the jurisdiction of the Rájás became more despotic. Under the king were the lords of 1,000 villages; under each of the latter were lords of 100 villages—the hundred villages corresponding to what is now called a Parganah. Under these, again, were the headmen of the villages, the *Mandals* or *Patels*; and all these officers were regarded as officers of the Rájá.

§ 6. *The Village System of Manu.*—In the village communities the system of administration seems to have been almost identical with that which has prevailed in

India for ages. The headman settled with the Rájá the sum to be paid as revenue, apportioned these payments amongst the villagers, and was answerable for the payments and for the good conduct of the village. He held a portion of land rent-free, and he also received fees from the villagers, and was sometimes paid a salary by the Government. In all disputes he acted as umpire, assisted by arbitrators named by the disputants. The headman was assisted by various other officials, of whom the chief were the accountant and the watchman; all these officials were paid by fees, by assignments of rent-free land, and sometimes by salaries.

§ 7. *The Administration of Justice.*—The Laws of Manu regarding crimes were very rude, but not cruel; those regarding property were fair and good; and in both, directions were given about the most minute matters of daily life. The worst points were the favour shown to the higher castes and the oppression of the Sudras.

§ 8. *Religion and Manners.*—High regard for immemorial custom is an important feature in the Laws of Manu. The marriage laws were fair and just. The wife was commanded strictly to obey her husband, and other women to obey their natural guardians; but every provision was made for the welfare of the female sex. Bráhmans were ordered to divide their lives into four portions; in their youth they were to be students, and to observe celibacy; in the second portion of their lives they were to live with their wives as householders, and discharge the ordinary duties of Bráhmans; in the third portion they were to live as hermits in the woods, and submit to very severe penances; in the fourth they were to engage solely in contemplation, and were freed from all ceremonial observances. The arts of life in this period, though still in a simple state, were not rude; and the numerous professions spoken of (goldsmiths, carvers, artists, &c.) show that the people possessed most things necessary to civilisation.

CHAPTER III.

THE HINDU SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY.

§ 1. Origin and Date. § 2. The Six Darsanas.

§ 1. **Origin and Date.**—The Hindus have always been fond of the study of philosophy, and (as was pointed out in our *Introduction*, § 81) the esoteric side of the national religion, Bráhmaism, has always been highly philosophical and speculative in its nature. Buddhism, too, whose rise will be depicted in the next chapter, was essentially a philosophical system rather than a religion; its pure and simple code of morals, being of the nature of an adjunct to this philosophical system, was, perhaps, the main cause of its rising superior to all the other schools of philosophy contemporary with it, and establishing itself as one of the greatest religions of the world. For some centuries before the rise of Buddhism, commencing at various undefined times during the period treated of in the last chapter, the speculations of the Hindu sages began to assume those forms which ultimately became fixed and classified as the respective teachings of the six famous philosophical schools—the six *Darsanas*, or ‘demonstrations.’ One, indeed, of these schools, the *Vedánta*, or *Uttara-Mimámsá*, appears to have been evoked to some extent by the teachings of Buddhism, and to have arisen after the time of Buddha. The other schools are clearly earlier; though some authorities think that the doctrines of all, as now known to us, bear traces of Buddhist influence. It is, however, probable that these traces are rather indications of the general tone of Hindu thought at the period, to which Buddhism itself owed much. How far the Greek philosophy was indebted to the Hindu, or the Hindu to the Greek, is, again, a vexed question: the highest authority on the subject (Colebrooke) says that ‘the Hindus were in this instance the teachers, not the learners.’

§ 2. *The Six Darsanas.*—The names and founders of the respective schools were: (1) the *Sāṅkhya* system, founded by Kapila; (2) the *Yoga* system of Patanjali; (3) the *Nyāya* system of Gaṇṭama; (4) the *Vaiśeṣhika* system of Kanāda; (5) the *Purva-Mīmāṃsā* of Jaimini; and (6) the *Uttara-Mīmāṃsā*, or *Vedānta* of Vyāsa.

The *Sāṅkhya* and the *Yoga* are generally classed together, and are, indeed, nearly allied. The *Sāṅkhya*, however, appears to have been essentially atheistic; it takes its name from its numeral or discriminative tendencies. The *Yoga*, on the other hand, is distinctly theistic; it asserts the existence, not only of individual souls with the *Sāṅkhya*, but also of one all-pervading Spirit free from the influences affecting other souls.

Similarly, the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣhika* are commonly classed together. *Nyāya* is called 'the logical school'; but this term, of course, refers to its method, not to its aims. It is said to represent 'the sensational aspect of Hindu philosophy,' treating the external frankly as a solid reality. *Vaiśeṣhika* is called 'the atomic school,' teaching the existence of a transient world composed of varying aggregations of eternal atoms. It is supplementary to the *Nyāya*.

Both the *Purva-Mīmāṃsā* and the *Uttara-Mīmāṃsā* are commonly included in the general term *Vedānta*—'the end or object of the Vedas,' more strictly applied to the latter only. The aim of both is to teach the art of reasoning as an aid to the interpretation of the Vedas. The principal doctrines of the *Vedānta* proper are, that 'God is the omniscient and omnipotent cause of the existence, continuance, and dissolution of the universe. Creation is an act of His will; He is both the efficient and the material cause of the world.' 'At the consummation of all things all are resolved into him.' 'He is *advaita*, "without a second." ' The famous Sankarāchārya was the great apostle of this school (*see* Introduction, § 85).

From an historical point of view the *Darsanas* are

valuable, both as indicating the early speculative activity of the Hindu intellect, and more especially as illustrating the rise of Buddhism.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RISE OF BUDDHISM.

§ 1. Origin of Buddhism. § 2. Gautama, Buddha.

§ 1. **Origin of Buddhism.**—The doctrines of Buddhism appear to have been originally those of a philosophical school nearly akin to and perhaps identical with the *Sāṅkhya*, described above. Buddhism was at first a system of philosophy, not a religion; and it only became a religion because one of its representatives turned with it to the people, expounded it in a popular form, attached to it the abolition of caste and of other social disqualifications, and combined it with a pure and simple code of morality. It is interesting to observe that the Buddhist legends about their great apostle represent him as a prince of *Kapilavastu*, 'the abode of Kapila'—Kapila having been the founder of the *Sāṅkhya* school. And with respect to the popular tendencies of the religion it is noteworthy that the Buddhist Scriptures were almost certainly written in the language of the people, and not in the high Sanskrit, which had by this time become unintelligible to all except the learned; for the Scriptures of the Southern Buddhists (of Ceylon, Siam, &c.) were in Pāli, the language of Magadha, where Buddhism was first preached; and the Scriptures of the Thibetan Buddhists were in the Sanskrit of Kashmír, where they were first committed to writing.

The date of the promulgation of Buddhism as a religion is not certain, for the various Buddhist eras, which start from Buddha's death (or 'attainment of Nirváná') differ widely on the point. The Buddhists of Ceylon, however, are agreed in placing Buddha's death at about 544 B.C.;

and this has been accepted as approximately correct, as it enables the early Buddhist legends to harmonise chronologically with the only Indian date of this period that is historically authenticated, that of Chandragupta (see Chap. VI. § 3).

§ 2. Gautama, Buddha.—The Buddhist legends about their great apostle's life are briefly to the following effect: Early in the sixth century B.C. a young prince was born to the Rájá of Kapilavastu, whose dominions were in Nepál or Gorákhpur, at the foot of the Himálaya Mountains, north of Oudh. This prince was named *Sákya Muni*, or *Gautama*: it was only in later life, after long years of preparation and meditation, that he claimed the sacred title of BUDDHA, 'the enlightened.' He belonged, of course, to the Kshatriya, or soldier caste, but from his youth upward he was much addicted to study and contemplation. At an early age, though happily married and blessed with every earthly blessing, his observations of poverty and old age and death impressed him with the nothingness of earthly things; he forsook his kindred and his father's palace in order to become a devotee, first as a disciple of the Bráhmans, and afterwards in a lonely hermitage. It may be noticed that the writings of Yájñavalkya, one of the greatest of the *Yoga* school of philosophers (see last chap.), show that the doctrine of the vanity of the world, and in connection with it the practice of subsistence on alms, as '*Bhikshu*,' formed a prominent feature in the *Yoga* system. Finally, Gautama announced that he had attained to true knowledge; he assumed the title of Buddha, entered vigorously on the work of evangelising India, and proclaimed his doctrines as those of a new religion. These doctrines are succinctly summarised by Weber in the following words: 'Men's lots in this life are conditioned and regulated by the actions of a previous existence; no evil deed remains without punishment, and no good deed without reward. From this fate, which dominates the individual within the circle of transmigration, he can only escape by

directing his will towards the one thought of liberation from this circle, by remaining true to this aim, and striving with steadfast zeal after meritorious action only; whereby finally, having cast aside all passions, which are regarded as the strongest fetters in this prison-house of existence, he attains the desired goal of complete emancipation from re-birth. This teaching contains, in itself, nothing absolutely new; on the contrary, it is entirely identical with the corresponding Bráhmanical doctrine; only the fashion in which Buddha proclaimed and disseminated it was something altogether novel and unwonted. For while the Bráhmans taught solely in their hermitages, and received pupils of their own caste only, he wandered about the country with his disciples, preaching his doctrine to the whole people, and (although still recognising the existing caste-system, and explaining its origin, as the Bráhmans themselves did, by the dogma of rewards and punishments for prior actions) receiving as adherents men of every caste without distinction. To these he assigned rank in the community according to their age and understanding, thus abolishing, *within the community itself*, the social distinctions that birth entailed, and opening up to all men the prospect of emancipation from the trammels of their birth. This of itself sufficiently explains the enormous success that attended his doctrine: *the oppressed all turned to him as their redeemer*. If by this alone he struck at the root of the Bráhmanical hierarchy, he did so not less by declaring sacrificial worship (the performance of which was the exclusive privilege of the Bráhmans) to be utterly unavailing and worthless, and a virtuous disposition and virtuous conduct, on the contrary, to be the only real means of attaining final deliverance. He did so further by the fact that, wholly penetrated by the truth of his opinions, he claimed to be in possession of the highest enlightenment, and so by implication rejected the validity of the Veda as the supreme source of knowledge.'

We shall see hereafter that the Bráhmans only recovered

their popular influence, after many centuries of eclipse, by a counter-appeal to the people, before whom they placed the worship, powerfully attractive to human sympathies, of the *avátars* or incarnations of Vishnu, Krishna, and Ráma.

Buddha's death—his attainment of *Nirrána*, extinction, or final deliverance from existence—is now generally placed in the year 504 B.C. From that time to the present the places connected with the most important events of his life had been the goal of innumerable pilgrims from the various countries which have accepted his religion—the sub-Himalayan scenes of his birth and early youth; *Rájagriha*, where he became a religion mendicant, or *Bhikshu*; *Pátali-putra*, where he converted the King of Magadhá; the jungle of *Gaya*, where he attained to enlightenment as a Buddha; and the deer-forest near Kási, or Benares, where he first proclaimed his gospel.

CHAPTER V.

GREEK CONNEXION WITH INDIA.

§ 1. Historical importance of the Greek Episode. § 2. The Invasion of the Punjab by the Persians. § 3. The Invasion of Alexander the Great. § 4. The Invasion of India by Seleukus. § 5. The Bactrian Greeks. § 6. Greek accounts of the Ancient Hindus.

§ 1. **Historical Importance of the Greek Episode.**—The Greek connexion is a most important episode in early Indian history. It gives us glimpses of the condition of India, and of current Indian history, in the trustworthy pages of Arrian and other classical writers; but, above all, it gives us a link by which we can connect the legends and traditions and coins of the Hindus with the events of Greek history, and thereby obtain a basis for Indian chronology which otherwise would be absolutely wanting. This very necessary link is afforded by the identification of the

'Sandracottus' of the Greek writers with the king *Chandragupta* of the Hindus (*see* next chapter).

The history of the Greek connexion is really an episode of the Buddhist period; and, as the most important and best-known events of the connexion happened during the earlier portion of that period, a brief notice of them is given in this chapter.

§ 2. The Invasion of the Punjab by the Persians.—The Greeks invaded India as conquerors of the Persians; the way thither was led by the Persians. Not long after the death of Buddha, in 521–518 B.C., Darius Hystaspes invaded the Punjab. He crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats, built for him by his Greek admiral, Skylax, who subsequently sailed down the river to its mouth and returned home by sea. Darius succeeded in conquering a part of the Punjab, which he formed into a Persian *satrapy*; and it is worthy of note, as showing in what abundance India formerly produced gold, that in the tribute derived from the Indian satrapy came a great part of the gold that found its way into the Persian treasury.

§ 3. The Invasion of Alexander the Great.—Nearly two hundred years afterwards the Empire of Persia was conquered by the Greeks under Alexander the Great of Macedon; and in the year 327 B.C., Alexander proceeded to invade India.

He started from Bactria (the modern Balkh, or Afghán Turkestan), crossed the Hindu Kush by the Bamián or one of the other passes between the Kabul territory and Central Asia, and descended to Orthostana¹ (the modern Kabul). Thence he sent part of his army by the route through the Khurd Kábul Pass, Jagdalak, and the Khaibar, now famous for the sufferings, exploits, and triumphs of the British-Indian armies in the two Afghán wars of 1839–42 and 1878–80; whilst he himself, with another brigade, penetrated to the valley of the Indus through the still more

¹ That is, 'high fort';—Bala Hissar, according to Cunningham.

difficult passes north of the Khaibar. Through all this terribly wild and rugged country, notwithstanding the fierceness of the mountain tribes, Alexander contrived to conduct his army without any difficulty sufficient to demand notice from the classical historians, and with no great loss or disaster. The Greek forces debouched into the plains of the Punjab just in the hottest time of the year; for it is stated that Alexander's passage of the Indus was effected shortly before the commencement of the rains. The populations of the Punjab have always been warlike; and they opposed as stout a resistance to Alexander's veteran Greeks as that which they offered to the British arms in the Sikh wars of 1846 and 1848. Crossing the Indus at Attock, Alexander found the country as far as the Jhelam ruled by the prince (called Taxiles by the Greeks) of the rich and populous city of Taxila. The country is now the Ráwalpindi division; and the ruins of Taxila—which was visited by Hiouen Thsang in A.D. 630—extend three miles from north to south, and two from east to west. Taxila submitted willingly to the invader; but Porus,¹ the prince of the country beyond the Jhelam, who appears to have been lord-paramount as far as Delhi, prepared to meet Alexander with all his levies. From Taxila the two great roads southward into India diverged; one went east, by Jhelam, Wazirábád, and Amritsar; but Alexander took the western road, which crossed the Jhelam (or *Hydaspes*, Sanskrit *Vitasta*) below Jálalpur, the Chenáb (or *Acesines*, Sanskrit *Asikni*), below Rámnagar, the Rávi (*Hydraotes*, Sanskrit *Irávti*), below Lahore, and the Sutlej (or *Hesudrus*, Sanskrit *Satadru*), below the point at which it now joins the Bias (*Hyphasis*, Sanskrit *Vipasa*). He was led to take this road, though more difficult than the eastern, be-

¹ The Greek name *Porus* seems to have been simply the Greek spelling of a common noun, *Purusha*, 'the man, or hero'; just as the Persian *Daruesh* ('the King') became Darius, and the Keltic *Bran* became *Brennus*. Some authorities, however, regard *Porus* as the Greek rendering of the royal family name, *Paurava*.

cause Porus had drawn up the Rájput legions to dispute his passage of the Jhelam at Jalálpur—exactly on the site where, on January 13, 1849, Lord Gough fought the indecisive battle of Chillianwallah with the Sikhs. Alexander's battle of Chillianwallah has been well described by General Cunningham and by Sir W. Napier. The following graphic summary is from Mr. Moberly's 'Alexander the Great in the Punjab':—

First, he waited on the north bank of the Jhelam with the utmost patience until, by a series of skilful manœuvres, he had thrown Porus quite off his guard. He then, with equal skill, sent the greater part of his army across the deep and dangerous river which lay before him by the hazardous expedient of a night movement, which prospered at all points under his personal guidance. He then marched straight upon the enemy, who had formed to meet him on ground chosen by themselves. Not allowing himself to be betrayed into any movement of impatience, he held his cavalry well in hand till the infantry had not only come up, but also recovered breath and steadiness after their hurried march. Then avoiding the front of Porus's infantry line—which was strengthened by a number of elephants standing bastion-like at distances of 100 feet from each other—he charged with his own superior cavalry the Indian horse which had gathered to meet him on Porus's left flank, having previously arranged that the moment these cavalry advanced beyond their supports to repel him they should be attacked also in the rear by a division of his own horse, reserved for this special purpose. To meet the double assault they resorted to one of those changes of front in which Indian cavalry are often so surprisingly rapid—facing partly to the front and partly to the rear. Yet Alexander was beforehand with them; and his renewed charge threw them into utter confusion before they could fully assume their new formation. Flying along the front of their own infantry, they took refuge in the spaces left between every two elephants, and (as it would seem, in the absence from Arian's account of the full details) passed as soon as possible through the intervals of the foot regiments, so as to be for the moment quite outside the battle. As soon as they were out of the way the Indian elephants were sent on, supported by the infantry; but were at once met face to face by the Macedonian phalanx. In spite of the terrible loss inflicted by the elephants, the mass of men pressed onwards, slew with their javelins most of the mahouts and of the warriors in the howdahs, and goaded the animals themselves into madness, with a destructive effect which we may easily conceive, when we imagine the terribly close press of the infantry all around, and the way in which the

frenzied creatures would act when driven back upon the ranks of their friends. But the pressure soon became fiercer still, for the Indian cavalry, recovering heart for a moment, rode round the battle and once more charged the Macedonian horse; only, however, to be again repelled and again driven towards the place where the infantry fight was going on. In their mad attempt to regain the shelter of what had been the line of elephants, they hopelessly clubbed the whole mass of their comrades; and Alexander, who all the time had his cavalry perfectly in hand, and free to move at his pleasure, had no difficulty in converting the confusion into a headlong and universal rout by forming with it a cordon round all the combatants, and then directing charges upon the bleeding mass from every point of the compass in succession.

This battle was fought in April or May, B.C. 326. When after this great victory Porus was brought to Alexander, the magnanimous conqueror was amazed at his gigantic stature and delighted with his noble bearing. In response to the dignified appeal of Porus, βασιλικῶς μοι χρῆσαι, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε—to be treated like a king—Alexander showed him the utmost courtesy and generosity; and thenceforth the restored Indian monarch was the faithful ally of the Greeks. Alexander founded two cities near the scene of his victory, and then proceeded on his southward march; these cities were *Nikaia*, south of the Jhelam, the ruins of which have been identified by General Cunningham at *Mong*; and *Boukephala*, north of the Jhelam, where now stands Jakálpur.

To follow the Greek invader through the various episodes of the Punjab campaign would be beyond the scope of the present work. He met the *Kuthaei*, whose capital was at Sangala, not far from the modern Lahore; and in the course of his return voyage down the Indus, the *Malli*, who inhabited the Multan district. His furthest point of advance was the shore of the Sutlej; beyond this his Macedonians refused to go, notwithstanding the impassioned appeals of their leader, who had heard of the power and riches of the great king of Magadha, and who longed for the spoils and the glory of the conquest of Páltaiputra. The soul of Alexander scorned retreat; so, after returning

as far as the Jhelam, he determined to court new dangers by following the Jhelam to the Indus, the Indus to the sea, and so home to his Persian dominions—much as Lord Ellenborough in the first Afghán war ordered the Kandahár column to retreat to India ‘by way of Kábul.’ Himself with part of his army embarked on the river; whilst his generals Krateros and Hephaistion marched down the banks with the rest of the army, abreast of him. Arrived at the sea, part followed the admiral Nearchus in the footsteps of Skylax by sea; Alexander and the other wing marched home to Susa, through the burning Gedrosian deserts of Balochistán.

§ 4. The Invasion of India by Seleukus.—After the death of Alexander, his Punjab viceroy, after murdering Porus, was himself driven out by the great Sandracottus (*see* next chapter). Subsequently, Alexander’s famous general Seleukus, who had seized on a part of the Greek conquests in Asia, determined to renew his great master’s attempt on India, and actually marched as far as the Ganges to attack Sandracottus. Here, however, a treaty was made, by which Seleukus agreed to give Sandracottus his daughter in marriage, and gave up to him the provinces east of the Indus in return for a yearly tribute of fifty elephants. A Greek ambassador, named *Megasthenes*, lived for many years at the court of Pátaliputra; and his account of the country and the people is a most valuable illustration of the history of the time.

§ 5. The Bactrian Greeks.—Bactria was the name of that province of the Greek empire in Asia that was north of Afghánistán; it is now called Balkh. Under the successors of Seleucus the Greek governors of Bactria became kings, and for some centuries the kings of Bactria maintained a powerful empire in this part of Asia, which often included large portions of the west and north-west of India. Ultimately, a dynasty of Bactrian kings, who all bore the name of *Sotér*, were driven out of their northern dominions into India; and for many years they ruled over

an empire which included Sind, part of the North-West Provinces, the Punjab, and Afghánistán.

§ 6. Greek Accounts of the Ancient Hindus.—The most striking points about the Greek accounts of the state of India at this time are :—

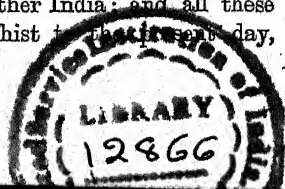
(1) Their general agreement with the accounts in Manu ; (2) the little change that has since occurred during two thousand years ; (3) the favourable impression which the manners and condition of the Hindus made on the Greeks. The men are described as braver than any Asiatics whom the Greeks had yet met, and singularly truthful. They are said to be sober, temperate, and peaceable ; remarkable for simplicity and integrity ; honest, and averse to litigation. The practice of widows becoming *sati* had already been introduced, but probably only partially, for it is spoken of by Aristobulus as one of the extraordinary local peculiarities which he heard of at Taxila.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TRIUMPH AND DECLINE OF BUDDHISM.

§ 1. The spread of Buddhism. § 2. The Buddhist Scriptures. § 3. The Empire of Magadha. § 4. The Decline of Buddhism. § 5. The Chinese Pilgrims. § 6. Jainism.

§ 1. The Spread of Buddhism.—We now take up the thread of the history from the death of Buddha, in B.C. 544. Before that event it is probable that a great part of Bihár and the neighbouring provinces belonged to the new religion, one king of Magadha having been converted by Buddha himself. Thence the Buddhist doctrines rapidly spread into other parts of India. Missionaries penetrated through Nepál into Thibet, Central Asia, and China ; by sea they went, first to Ceylon, and thence to Siam, Burma, and other parts of Further India ; and all these countries have remained Buddhist to the present day.



though the religion has for many centuries ceased to flourish in the land of its origin.

A Buddhist Council, or meeting of the chief followers of the faith, was held shortly after the death of Buddha; and a second followed it.

Both of these were held in the realm of Magadha; the former at Rājgriha, the ancient capital, and the latter at Pātaliputra, which had in the meantime taken the place of Rājgriha as capital. The proceedings of these Councils were doubtless conducted in *Māgadhi*, then the vernacular language of Bihār; this was one of the *spoken* forms of the written Sanskrit which are known as *Prakrit*; and it was doubtless identical (or nearly so) with the *Pāli*, which has always been the sacred language of the Southern Buddhists, those of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam.

But the most important and famous of these Councils was the third, which was held in the seventeenth year of King Asoka of Magadha. This was in the year 245 B.C. We shall see in the next section, in which we shall give some account of the great Mauryan dynasty to which Asoka belonged, the reason why we are able to fix, with something like certainty, the dates of the chief events of this period of Indian history. This Council was held at the royal city of Pātaliputra; and Buddhism was publicly proclaimed as the State religion of the empire of Magadha, then paramount throughout India.

A fourth Council was held in Kashmīr a few years after the Christian era; it was held under the auspices of the great king Kanishka or Kanerki (see § 4), whose coins prove him to have reigned until A.D. 40.

§ 2. The Buddhist Scriptures.—At one of the two earlier councils the Buddhist canon of sacred books seems to have been drawn up. At the third Council, that of Asoka, it was revised and reformed. In the following year *Mahendra*, the great apostle of Ceylon, took it with him to that island—doubtless in the *Māgadhi* or *Pāli* language, though they were not written out in that lan-

guage in Ceylon until some centuries later; and this is the version now regarded as sacred by the Southern Buddhists, which has been translated into the languages of Ceylon and of Further India. At the fourth Council, that of Knishka, another version of the canon was made, probably in Kashmiri Sanskrit, a much purer form than most of the Prákrits of the plains of India; and this is the sacred version of the Northern Buddhists. Of this version a copy in the original Sanskrit has been obtained from Nepál; it has been translated into Thibetan (the translation being in one hundred volumes!), Chinese, Mongolian, Kalmuck, and other languages of Central and Eastern Asia.

The canon is called the *Tripitaka* (in Páli, *Tipitaka*), or 'the Three Baskets.' The first *pitaka*, or division, called the *Sutra-pitaka*, may be considered the gospel of Buddha; for it consists of the utterances and discourses of Buddha himself, and his conversations with his hearers. The second is the *Vinaya-pitaka*, which contains rules of religious discipline and conduct; and the third is the *Abhidharma-pitaka*, dogmatic and philosophical discussions.

§ 3. The Empire of Magadha.—We have already had occasion to speak once or twice of the great empire of *Magadha*, or Bihár, which was the first that 'brought all India under one umbrella.' The capital of these kings was at first at Rájgriha; and subsequently it was at Pátaliputra, on the Ganges, now called Patna. We have mentioned a king of Magadha who was one of the converts of the great Buddha; and another whose power and riches attracted the envy of Alexander the Great. The name of this latter king was Nanda, called *the Rich*, notorious for his cruelty and his avarice. His people were disaffected; and his fall (which forms the subject of the plot of the great Sanskrit drama called *Mudrá-rákshasa*) was at length compassed chiefly by the instrumentality of a Bráhman named Chánakya. Nanda was succeeded by the famous CHANDRAGUPTA, of the Maurya race; and this Mauryan dynasty occupies the most prominent place in the

Buddhist history of India. The legends about Chandragupta are conflicting; but it appears that he was a man of low origin, who succeeded in mastering the Punjab after the retreat of Alexander the Great, and ultimately possessed himself of Nanda's empire in Magadha.

He has been identified, beyond any reasonable doubt, with the *Sandracottus* mentioned by Arrian and other classical historians of Alexander's campaign, and later on as negotiating a treaty with Seleucus Nicator of Syria through the ambassador Megasthenes. This identification is of the highest historical importance, as it is the one link that connects early Indian history with the chronology of Greece; in fact, everything in Indian chronology depends on this one date. Chandragupta reigned for twenty-four years, from 315 to 291 B.C. His treaty with Seleucus resulted in his marrying the Hellenic daughter of the Syrian king; and during his prosperous reign he conquered a great portion of Northern India.

The conquests of Chandragupta were continued by his son Bindusára; but the greatest monarch of the old dynasty, and perhaps the greatest monarch of ancient times in India, was Chandragupta's grandson, Asoka. He ascended the throne of Magadha about the year 263 B.C., and reigned for about forty years, till 223 B.C. The great Buddhist Council of 245 B.C., held under his auspices, has already been mentioned. He is said to have maintained 64,000 Buddhist priests in his palace, and to have erected 84,000 *stupas* (topes, or Buddhist relic-temples) throughout India. Many inscriptions made by order of Asoka have been recently discovered in various parts of India, and are commonly known as the *Edicts of Asoka*. They are in the Páli language; one found at Kapur-di-giri, in Afghánistán, being in the Bactrian Páli character, written from right to left—all the others in the Indian Páli, from left to right. These inscriptions show a great tenderness for animal life, and are otherwise Buddhist in character. They are clearly the moral precepts of a Buddhist king; and though they

contain nothing absolutely peculiar to that religion, and though the name of Asoka is not mentioned in them—the king being always called *Piyadāsi* (the Pāli form of the Sanskrit *priyadarsi*, ‘the beautiful’)—yet Buddhist tradition has most fully identified them as the work of Asoka. They show that his kingdom extended at least to Orissa and the eastern parts of the Deccan, on the one side of India, and to the west of Gujarāt, and to Afghānistān and the extreme north of the Punjab, on the other side.

§ 4. **The Decline of Buddhism.**—The Mauryan line of kings reigned for more than a hundred years in Bihār, and was succeeded by other powerful Buddhist dynasties in succession; and Buddhism was flourishing in Magadha as late as the seventh century A.D., when its holy places were visited by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim *Hien Tsang*. It is probable, however, that after the fall of the great Mauryan dynasty of Buddhists the religion of the Brāhman began gradually to revive throughout India. Though Buddhism existed in India until the twelfth century A.D.—that is, for more than 1,300 years longer—and often was the religion of powerful kings and great States; yet on the whole it declined slowly from this time, about 200 B.C. While the great city of Kanauj had always remained devoted to Brāhmanism, the other cities and kingdoms of India one by one returned to a form of their earlier religion.

Of most of these Buddhist dynasties we have nothing but an occasional name of a king, with at best barely an approximation to a date, and very rarely some slight indication of the extent of his jurisdiction. These meagre particulars are gathered chiefly from coins and inscriptions, used to corroborate or elucidate the hazy legends of such semi-historical works as the *Rājā-tarangini* of Kashmīr, and the *Mahāwanso* of Ceylon; or from references to current history in the travels of Chinese pilgrims.

One king, whose name has been preserved to us in this unsatisfactory way, appears to have possessed widely ex-

tended power, and deserves a passing notice here. He was KANISHKA of Kashmír, who belonged to a dynasty known as the *Saka*, or *Indo-Scythian*. Their coins show them to have been partly Greek in origin; Kaniska's name appears as *Kaneriki* in its Greek form on the coins, which also prove him to have reigned down to A.D. 40. He founded the city of Kanishkapura, in Kashmír, and the site of its ruins is still known as Kampur-sarai. He also built many Buddhist *stupas*, or *topes*. Reference has already been made to the great Buddhist Council (the fourth) held under his auspices, whereat the text of the Buddhist Scriptures are accepted by the Northern Buddhists was finally settled.

Other dynasties, known to us in much the same misty way as the Indo-Scythians, were the *Sáhs* of Saurashtra or Káthiawár; and the *Gupta* dynasty of Kanauj, and of Vallabhi in Gujarát.

§ 5. *The Chinese Pilgrims.*—The most famous of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to India, whose writings have been found and translated in China, are *Fa-hian* and *Hiouen-Tsang*. Fa-hian's travels were in A.D. 399-414; he found Buddhism still flourishing, though Bráhmanism had begun to lift its head again. When Hiouen-Tsang visited India, in A.D. 622-645, the revival of Bráhmanism was more marked: the ancient and faithful seat of that religion, Kanauj, was the capital of a great king named *Siláditya*, whose power was acknowledged throughout Northern India. Still, there were many great Buddhist princes in various parts; and many immense monasteries, and other religious foundations, such as hospitals for the sick.

§ 6. *Jainism.*—The religion of the Jains is now believed to be of about equal antiquity with Buddhism (*see* Introduction, § 89), but it only rose to eminence, as the State religion of many Indian realms, during the period of the decline of Buddhism. In Southern India it long held wide sway, until the preaching of Sankaráchárya about the eighth century A.D. substituted for it the worship of Siva

and Vásudeva. Both the Pándya dynasty of the extreme south and the *Chola* dynasty of Káncchipuram (Conjeveram) and Tanjore were at times Jain in religion. So were the early kings of the *Ballála* dynasty of Dwára Sámudra, in Mysore; and most of the splendid temples erected by the *Chálukya* kings of Kalyán were also Jain.

CHAPTER VII.

REVIVAL OF BRÁHMANISM UNDER THE EARLY RÁJPUT KINGS.

§ 1. Rise of the Rájputs. § 2. Maiwár and other Rájput States.
§ 3. The Hindu Kings of Bengal. § 4. The Hindu Kings of the
Deccan. § 5. The Puránas.

§ 1. Rise of the Rájputs.—Of the many centuries during which Bráhmanism was gradually driving Buddhism out of India the history is so uncertain and obscure that we shall not dwell upon it at length. The period was marked by the rise and progress of a large number of Rájput principalities, not only in that part of India which is now called Rájputána, but also throughout the North of India. Some of these Rájput principalities still exist, such as Maiwár or Udaipur, and Jodhpur or Marwár; and from the chronicles, which are preserved in the families of the chiefs of these States, some accounts of their early history have been preserved.

Most of these early Rájput principalities were devoted to Bráhmanism; and the Rájput princes were doubtless the chief auxiliaries whom the Bráhmans used in recovering their power over India. This is probably the meaning of the legend in the Puránas, which says that the ancestors of the Rájputs were miraculously created in order to drive the enemies of the Vedas out of the land. The legend, which is called the ‘legend of the *Agníkulas*,’ is as follows: When the holy Rishis, or sages, who dwelt on Mount

Abú, complained that the Vedas were trampled under foot, and that the land was in the possession of Rákshasas (or Buddhists), they were ordered by Brahmá to recreate the race of Kshatriyas, who had been extirpated by Parasu Ráma. This was effected by purifying the 'fountain of fire' with water from the Ganges, when there sprang from the fountain four warriors, called the *Agnikulas*, or generation of fire, who, amidst many marvels, cleared the land of the Rákshasas. Many of the modern Rájputs claim descent from these Agnikulas, who thus propagated Bráhmanism.

For some centuries during the period of which we are speaking, the most powerful family in India, and the greatest of all the Rájput dynasties, was called *Andhra*. Branches of this great family reigned in Magadha (whence they had expelled the Buddhist kings), in Warangal, in that part of the Deccan called Telingána, south of Orissa, and also in Ujjáin in Málwa [see Int. § 21], which was the most famous city of India at that time. The greatest king of the Andhra dynasty was the heroic VIKRAMÁDITYA, King of Ujjáin. He is said to have sprung from the Pramaras, the chief race of the Agnikulas; and innumerable legends are told of the extent of his conquests, of his bravery and virtue, of the beauty of his throne, and the magnificence of his court. Some of these legends are doubtless true of Rájá Vikramáditya himself; whilst others probably belong to the lives of other great kings of ancient times, whose names had been forgotten by the old historians, or had never been known to them, so that they assigned all the grandeur and all the conquests to Vikramáditya. These old historians say that he was unequalled in wisdom, justice, and valour, and that he had spent a large part of his life in travelling through various countries as a *faqír*, in order to learn the wisdom and arts of foreign nations. It is said that he was fifty years old before he attempted to make any conquests; and that then, within a few months, he subdued the countries of Málwa and Gujarát, and soon

became Mahárájá Adhíráj of India [see next sec.]. In the midst of all the grandeur of his court he lived a life of the strictest temperance; he slept upon a mat, and the only furniture of his room was an earthen pot filled with pure water. The great poet *Kálidása*, who wrote the famous drama called *Sakuntalá*, and the beautiful lyric poem called *Meghadúta*, was one of the learned who adorned his court, and who were, therefore, called its, 'gems.' The era of Vikramáditya, 57 B.C., is still widely current in Hindustán; in the Deccan the era of *Sáliváhana*, 77 A.D., is sometimes used. *Sáliváhana* was a great protector of Bráhmans, who was King of Patan, on the river Godávari.

§ 2. **Maiwár and other Rájput States.**—The name *Maiwár* is a contraction of *Madyawár*, and means the 'Central Region'; and its princes ruled, at a later period, before the invasion of the Muhammadans, over a large tract of country in Rájputána and Málwa. They belong to the Gehlot family of Rájputs, who had ruled successively at Kanauj and at Vallabhi, in Gujarát. The Gehlot Rájputs were driven out of Vallabhi by an invasion of Persians about the year 500 B.C.; but the Gehlot prince, who was called *Goha*, married the daughter of the Persian king, and established the Gehlot dynasty in Maiwár. The descendant of Prince Goha still reigns in Maiwár as the Maháráná of Udaipur, one of the great feudatory chiefs of the British Indian Empire.

Besides Maiwár there were many other great Rájput States both in Hindustan and in the Deccan; and at the time of the Muhammadan invasion these Rájput Rájás, with the King of Bengal, commanded the allegiance of all the Hindu principalities of Northern India. Sometimes one of these kingdoms became much more powerful than any of the others, and then its king was called MAHÁRÁJÁ ADHÍRÁJ, or Lord Paramount; sometimes the King of Maiwár was Mahárájá Adhíráj; sometimes the King of Ajmer, who was a Chohan Rájput; sometimes the King of Delhi, who was a Tuár Rájput; sometimes the King

of Kanauj, who was a Ráhtor Rájput;¹ and sometimes the King of Patan, in Gujarát, who was a Salonkhyá Rájput.

§ 3. **The Hindu Kings of Bengal.**—It is said that, from the times of the *Mahábhárata* to the period of the Muhammadan invasion in A.D. 1203, four dynasties of kings reigned in Bengal. Of these the last but one was a series of princes whose name was Pál, who reigned from the eighth to the latter part of the tenth century. They are thought to have been Buddhists. Of one Rájá of this family, Deva Pál Deva, it is stated that he reigned over the whole of India, and that he had even conquered Thibet. This statement probably simply means that this Rájá was acknowledged as Mahárájá Adhíráj. The capital of the dynasty was at Gaur; it was afterwards transferred to Nuddea (Nadiyá or *Navadvípa*).

The Pál dynasty was succeeded by another line of kings called Sena. About 964 A.D. a king belonging to this family reigned in Bengal named Adisúra, who invited five Bráhmans from Kanauj to settle in Bengal. The Bráhmans came, each attended by a Káyastha. These are said to be the ancestors of the five high classes of Bráhmans and Káyasthas in Bengal. Adisúra was probably the founder of the Sena dynasty.

One of the Sena kings, named Ballála Sena, settled the precedence of the descendants of the five Kanaujya Bráhmans. The last was Lakhmaniyá, or Su Sena, driven out from Nadiyá by Bakhtiár Khiljí [see Chap. IX. § 4].

§ 4. **The Hindu Kings of the Deccan.**—Far away in the South of India several powerful kingdoms existed during this period, of which the chief were the *Pándya* dynasty of Madura, and the *Chola* dynasty, first at Kánchipuram (Conjeveram), and afterwards at Tanjore; and the *Chera*

¹ Some time in the eleventh century A.D. the Ráhtors were driven out of the Kanauj by another set of Rájputs, and established themselves in Marwár; and their representative at the present day is the Mahárájá of Jodhpur or Marwár.

dynasty in the extreme south, and on the western or Malabar coast. These have already been mentioned in the section on the decline of Buddhism.

In Orissa the *Kesari* or 'Lion' kings ruled for centuries at Jájpur and afterwards at Katak; and they were followed by the 'Gangetic' dynasty (*Gangá Vansa*). The Hindu kings of Orissa bore the title of *Gajpati*, or 'Lord of Elephants.'

§ 5. *The Puránas*.—The religion which gradually became established in India on the expulsion of Buddhism differed considerably from the early religion of the Vedas, as also from the philosophic teachings of the *Darsanas*. It has been briefly explained in the chapter on *Religions* in the Introduction. The full exposition of this religion is to be found in the series of religious and historical writings called the *Puránas*. The recognised *Puránas* are eighteen in number, and are called *Puránas* because they profess to teach that which is 'old'—the old faith of the Hindus. They are generally supposed to date only from 800 A.D., many of them being of much later date. But they give a view of the religion of the revival of Bráhmanism, and are mainly devoted to an interpretation of the beliefs of the various sects of worshippers of Vishnu, Siva, &c. Besides this they are storehouses of mythological and legendary stories; they contain not only genealogies and lives of gods, but also genealogies of kings and heroes; and from some of the latter, gleams of historical truth may be derived.

CHAPTER VIII.

EARLY MUHAMMADAN INVASIONS.—MAHMUD OF GHAZNI.

§ 1. Early Muhammadan Invasions. § 2. Sabaktigin of Ghazni. § 3. Mahmud of Ghazni. § 4. Decline and Fall of the Ghaznavi Dynasty.

§ 1. *Early Muhammadan Invasions*.—We have now arrived at the period when the Muhammadans first began

to invade and conquer India; and from this time the history is full and clear, for the Muhammadans were always fond of the study of history, and there were always some Muhammadan writers who wrote down an account of events shortly after their occurrence.

As early as the year 712 A.D., and only ninety years after the foundation of the Muhammadan religion in Arabia, a Musalmán Arab, named *Muhammad Kásim*, invaded and conquered Sind, and held it for a short time. But it was not until the end of the tenth century, when the religion of the Prophet had spread over Afghánistán and all those regions of Central Asia to the north-west of India, that the great Muhammadan invasions took place.

At this time the great empire of Kanauj extended far westward into Rájputána; and probably into Sind; and hardly less powerful, and occasionally even paramount, were the Rájput dynasties of Ajmer, in Rájputána, and Anhalwára or Patan, in Gujarát. These, with the Bráhman dynasty of Lahore, the Tuár Rájputs of Delhi, and the Sesodia sept of the Gehlot Rájputs of Maiwár, were the Hindu sovereignties that were first attacked by the Muhammadan invaders.

§ 2. *Sabaktigín of Ghazni*.—*Sabaktigín*, Sultán of Ghazni, in Afghánistán (called the first of the Ghaznaví dynasty), was originally a Turki¹ slave; by his bravery and abilities he rose to be monarch of a vast empire, including Afghánistán, Balochistán, and Túrkiistán. A pleasing legend is told by some of the old historians to illustrate the kind and merciful disposition of *Sabaktigín*, which so much endeared him to his followers. It happened,

† The wandering hordes of Tartars that inhabited the whole of Central Asia from the Caspian Sea to the north of China were divided into three great races: (1) the *Manchúks*, who lived farthest to the east, in the north of China; (2) the *Mongols* or *Mughuls*, who lived in the centre, from Thibet northward; and (3) the *Turkis*, who lived west of the *Mughuls*.

when he was only a poor horseman in the service of the Chief of Ghazni, that he was hunting one day in the forest. He saw a deer grazing with her fawn; on which, putting spurs to his horse, he rode up and seized the fawn, laid him across his saddle, and rode away homewards. When he had gone a little way he looked back, and saw the mother of the fawn following with piteous cries and moans. The soul of Sabaktigín melted into pity; he untied the feet of the fawn and let him go. The happy mother ran away with her fawn to the forest, but often looked back, as if to thank Sabaktigín for his generosity. That very night Sabaktigín had a dream, in which he thought a celestial being appeared to him and said: 'The kindness and pity which you have this day shown to a distressed animal has been pleasing to God, and it is therefore recorded that you shall one day be King of Ghazni. But take care that greatness does not destroy your virtue, or make you less kind to men than you now are to dumb animals.'

Sabaktigín was once attacked, in the valley of Pesháwar, that leads from Afghánistán into the Punjab, by the Bráhmaṇ King of Lahore, named Jaipál; and in revenge he twice overran the whole of the Punjab, and carried back a vast amount of plunder to Ghazni—having totally defeated, not only Jaipál himself, but also all his Rájput allies, who had assembled from Delhi, Ajmer, and Kanauj, to aid in repelling the fierce invader.

NOTE.—The Bráhmaṇ dynasty that was at this time reigning in Lahore, the chief town of the Punjab, is sometimes called the 'Bull and Horseman' dynasty, because their coins bear the device of a bull and a horseman.

§ 3. **Mahmud of Ghazni.**—In these battles between the Sultán of Ghazni and the Rájá of Lahore there was present the young prince MAHMUD of Ghazni, the son of Sabaktigín. He observed with keen pleasure both the great riches of the Indian Rájás, and the ease with which even the bravest of the Rájputs were slaughtered by the hardy and strong mountaineers of Ghazni; and he determined that, on suc-

ceeding his father as Sultán of Ghazni, he would devote himself to the conquest of India.

In the year 996 A.D. Sabaktigín died; and Mahmud immediately proceeded to carry out his early determination. His earnest wish was both to possess himself of the wealth of India, and also to force the proud Rájputs to accept the Muhammadan religion; and in honour of his zeal for Islám the spiritual head of the Muhammadans, called the Khalíf, sent him a *khilat* of extraordinary magnificence, together with the high-sounding titles of 'Right Hand of the State, Guardian of the Faith, and Friend of the Chief of the Faithful.' The 'Chief of the Faithful' was, of course, the Khalíf himself, who doubtless hoped that Mahmud would diffuse the Muhammadan religion throughout India. Mahmud hereupon vowed that 'every year he would undertake a holy war against Hindustan.'

During the thirty-four years of his reign Sultán Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India seventeen times; and of these seventeen expeditions twelve are famous. His zeal in the destruction of Hindu temples and idols obtained for him the name of 'the Image-breaker'; and the vast plunder which he carried away from India greatly enriched his own country, and made Ghazni the most beautiful and the wealthiest city of the age. The richest spoils were those of the great Hindu shrines of Nagarkot, in the Himálayas; Thánéswar, between the Saraswatí and the Jamnah; and Somnáth, in Gujarát; and those of the sacred city of Mathurá.

It may be noted that Mahmud's expeditions extended as far eastward as Kanauj, in Oudh, and as far southward as Somnáth, in Gujarát; but he only made a *permanent* settlement in the Punjab, where he established a Viceroy at Lahore. This was the commencement of Musalmán dominion in India.

The most famous of Mahmud's expeditions were the twelfth and the sixteenth. The twelfth expedition, in A.D. 1018-19, was against Kanauj and the sacred city of

Mathurá or Muttra, on the Jamnah. Mahmud was now determined to penetrate into the heart of Hindustan. His army consisted of 100,000 horse and 20,000 foot; these were gathered from all parts of his dominions, including the recent conquests which he had made in Bukhára and Samarkhand. He marched from Pesháwar along the foot of the mountains, crossing the Punjab rivers as near to their sources as possible, and presented himself before Kanauj. This was a stately city full of incredible wealth; and its kings, who often held the title of *Mahárájá Adhíráj*, kept a splendid court. The Rájá threw himself on the generosity of Mahmud, who admitted him to his friendship, and after three days left his city uninjured.

From thence he advanced to Mathurá, sacred as the birthplace of Krishna, which was given up to the soldiers for twenty days. Its temples struck Mahmud with admiration, and kindled in him the desire to cover the barren rocks of Ghazni with similar edifices. Hindu slaves after this were sold in the army of the conqueror at two rupees each.

The sixteenth expedition—which was also the last, except a small and unimportant one a little later—was undertaken by Mahmud in 1026–27 A.D. against the famous temple of Somnáth, in the Gujarát peninsula. The march was long, including 350 miles of desert; and Mahmud made extraordinary preparations for it. He passed through Multán, and thence across the desert to Anhalwára, whose Rájá, named Bhím, fled before him. The struggle before Somnáth was terrible, and lasted three days. The Rájput princes assembled from all parts to defend their holiest shrine; but their desperate valour was unavailing against the bravery and enthusiasm of Mahmud and his veterans. The treasure obtained was immense; some of the Muhamadan historians say that the image of Somnáth—which the Bráhmans had offered to ransom by the payment of many crores of gold coins—when broken by Mahmud's own hand was found to contain a mass of rubies and other

precious stones far exceeding in value the offered ransom. Mahmud attempted to return to Ghazni by way of Ajmer; but the Rájputs barred his way, and he had once more to brave the march across the deserts of Sind.

An interesting story is told of Mahmud to show his magnanimity and the readiness with which he accepted good advice even when it was disagreeable. It is said that some Balochi robbers, having taken possession of a strong fortress on the road by which merchants travelled from Ghazni into Persia, were in the habit of plundering all the caravans that passed that way. One day they robbed a body of merchants, and killed a young man of Khorásán who was of their number. His old mother complained to Mahmud, who told her that such accidents occurred in that part of the country because it was too far from his capital for him to be able to prevent them. The old woman replied, 'Keep no more territory than you can manage properly.' The Sultán was so much struck by the justice of this remark that he ordered a strong guard to be furnished to all caravans traversing that road, and proceeded to extirpate the robbers that infested it.

Another well-known story that is told of Mahmud shows his character in a less favourable light, for it shows that his avarice was even stronger than his sense of justice. Ferdausi (*see* Introduction, § 77) was one of the greatest poets of the world, and was much encouraged by Mahmud, who was very fond of poetry. Ferdausi at length determined to write a grand heroic poem, which should make his name and that of his patron Mahmud famous throughout all ages; and Mahmud in a fit of generosity declared he would give him a gold muhur (sixteen rupees) for every verse of the poem. On this promise the great poet went away, and soon returned with the *Sháh Námah*—a poem which will be famous as long as the Persian language exists. The poem contained no less than 60,000 verses; and Mahmud, repenting of his former generosity, meanly offered Ferdausi only 60,000 rupees, or

one-sixteenth of the sum promised. Ferdausi indignantly refused the offer, and retired from court. It is said that Mahmud was afterwards anxious to atone for his meanness by paying the full amount; but that when his messengers arrived with the gold at the house of Ferdausi, they met his dead body, which was being carried out for interment.

On the whole, however, it must be said that Mahmud was a liberal patron of learning. He devoted large sums to the maintenance of colleges and schools. The famous mosque erected by him, called the *Celestial Bride*, was the pride of the whole Muhammadan world of the period.

§ 4. **Decline and Fall of the Ghaznaví Dynasty.**—The descendants of Mahmud reigned in the Punjab for more than a hundred and forty years after his death, though long before that time they had been driven out of their dominions in Central Asia. They were at length conquered by the chieftains of Ghor, which was a hill territory in Afghánistán between Balkh and Merv, north of the Hindu Kush Mountains; and the last of the race was killed in prison, just before the conquest of Hindustan by Muhammad of Ghor. During this period the Rájput kings of Ajmer, Delhi, Kanauj, Maiwár, and Anhalwára or Gujarát were the rulers of Northern India, and were often fighting with one another for the supremacy.

CHAPTER IX.

MUHAMMAD GHORI, AND THE CONQUEST OF HINDUSTAN BY THE MUHAMMADANS.

§ 1. Prithví Rájá. § 2. Shaháb-ud-din or Muhammad Ghorí.
§ 3. The decisive battle of Tháneswar. § 4. Completion of the Muhammadan conquest of Hindustan.

§ 1. **Prithví Rájá.**—Of all the Princes of Northern India who were reigning at the end of the twelfth century, by

far the greatest and most famous was the King of Ajmer and Delhi.

Prithví Rájá, or Rái Pithaura, represented the flower of Rajput chivalry, and has always been one of the favourite heroes of the Hindus. His mother was a Tuár Rájput princess of Delhi; his father was Someswar, an heir of the Choháns of Ajmer. Jaichand, Rájá of Kanauj, was his cousin, being the son of another Tuár princess, sister of Prithví's mother. Prithví, however, notwithstanding the opposition of Jaichand, had succeeded to the two thrones of Delhi and Ajmer. His praises are sung in the poems of Chand Bardai, his devoted admirer and friend.

About this period the Chohán empire was greatly weakened by two deadly feuds, which broke out between them and their Rájput neighbours on the north-east and on the south-east somewhere about the year 1170 A.D. In both these wars the arms of Ajmer were successful; the Salonkhya Rájputs of Anhalwára acknowledged the superiority of the Choháns, whilst Kanauj was compelled to acquiesce in the supremacy of Ajmer.

§ 2. *Shaháb-ud-dín* or *Muhammad Ghorí*.—But soon the heroic Prithví had to meet an enemy more formidable than any that the Hindus had yet encountered. The fierce and gigantic Afgháns of Ghor had already conquered Multán and the Ghaznaví kings of Lahore. They were under the command of a bold and determined soldier named *Shaháb-ud-dín*, better known in history as MUHAMMAD GHORÍ, who was joint Sultán of Ghor with his more peaceful brother Ghiás-ud-dín, and who, though he had been once defeated in an attack on the Rájputs of Anhalwára, was bent on effecting the conquest of Hindustan. In 1191 the Ghorian Sultán advanced from Lahore across the Sutlej in the direction of Delhi, and captured the fortress of Sirhind, north of the modern Ambálah. Prithví marched out to meet him, at the head of a mighty army of Chohán Rájputs and their allies; and a hard-fought battle took place at a village called *Tiráurí*, near Thánes-

war. A Muhammadan historian gives the following brief account of this battle: 'The battle array was formed; and the Sultán Shaháb-ud-dín, seizing a lance, made a rush upon the elephant which carried Gobind Rái of Delhi (one of Prithví's chief heroes). The latter advanced to meet him in front of the battle; and then the Sultán, who was a second Rustam and the Lion of the age, drove his lance into the mouth of the Rái and knocked two of the accursed wretch's teeth down his throat. The Rái, on the other hand, returned the blow and inflicted a severe wound on the arm of his adversary. The Sultán reined back his horse and turned aside, and the pain of the wound was so insufferable that he could not support himself on horse-back. The Musalmán army gave way, and could not be controlled. The Sultán was just falling, when a sharp and brave young Khiljí Afghán recognised him, jumped upon the horse behind him, and, clasping him round the body, spurred on the horse and bore him from the midst of the fight. When the Musalmáns lost sight of the Sultán a panic fell upon them; they fled, and halted not until they were safe from the pursuit of the victors.'

§ 3. The decisive Battle of Tháneswar.—Prithví Rája, after this glorious victory, set to work to form a great confederation of all the Rájput States, so that he might be able to renew his successes against the dreaded Afgháns if they should return. He was so far successful that no less than 160 Rájput princes followed his banners when he marched out a second time to meet Muhammad Ghori; but the persistent jealousy of Prithví's cousin, Rájá Jaichand of Kanauj, greatly weakened the Hindu cause.

In the meantime Muhammad had returned to Ghor, and had spared no pains to make his army invincible. The punishment he is said to have inflicted on those *Umarás* or chiefs who had run away from the battle-field at Tiráori is amusing. He forced them to walk round the city of Ghor with their horses' food-bags, filled with barley, hanging about their necks as if they were donkeys—at the same

time forcing them to eat the barley or have their heads struck off; and most of the Umarás preferred to eat the barley. In the following year Muhammad Ghori again advanced upon Delhi, burning to avenge his disgrace; and again the Musalmán and Hindu armies met on the field of *Tháneswar*, 1193 A.D. One hundred and twenty thousand horsemen bearing heavy armour, and forty thousand light armed cavalry, followed the Muhammadan leader to win for him the land which he claimed by right of the conquests of Mahmud of Ghazni, and to force the haughty Rájputs to accept the religion of the Prophet. On the other hand, hundreds of thousands of brave Rájputs in the army of Prithví felt that they were fighting for their homes, their country, their religion, and all that was dear to them. They fought with the desperate valour of patriots; but all was of no avail against the hardy and well-disciplined veterans of Muhammad Ghori. Gobind Rái, who had wounded the Sultán in the former battle, was killed in the middle of the contest; and it is said that Muhammad recognised the head of his old foe by the two teeth which he had himself broken. When at length Prithví saw that the day was against him, and that the Hindus were hopelessly routed, he alighted from his elephant, and, mounting a horse, he galloped away from the battle-field, in the hope of collecting his scattered forces for another attempt at resistance. He was, however, very soon captured and put to death; and the Muhammadan Empire in India was firmly established by this one battle.

§ 4. Completion of the Muhammadan Conquest.—The Rájá Jaichand of Kanauj, traitor not only to his cousin Prithví but also to his country, paid dearly for his folly, for in the following year (1194) he was totally defeated by Muhammad Ghori in a great battle at Chandrawár, in the Doáb (now Fírúzábád, in the Agra division). Meanwhile Delhi and other Rájput capitals had been reduced by Kutb-ud-dín. Kutb-ud-dín, famous as the Muhammadan general who completed the conquest of Hindustan, had been the

slave and was now the chief commander of the Sultán Muhammad; and the latter had such confidence in Kutb's abilities and loyalty that he left him as Viceroy in India, whilst he himself went back to Afghánistán. Thirteen years later Muhammad returned to India, and was assassinated in the Punjab by a band of Gakkhars, an aboriginal tribe living in that province. In the meantime Kutb and some other Musalmán generals had completely conquered the Hindus of Northern India. Muhammad Bakhtyár Khilji (see Chap. XI. § 3) was the conqueror of Bengal; whilst Ghazni was held by *Ilduz*, and Multán and Sind by *Kubáchah*, both of them (like Kutb-ud-dín) slaves and lieutenants of Muhammad Ghori. Ajmer and Anhalwára were garrisoned by the troops of Kutb-ud-dín; and the Musalmáns gradually overawed, if they did not entirely reduce, the Rájput country between and about these two capitals, though they left almost untouched the wilder mountain and desert provinces of Rájputána.

On the death of Muhammad Ghori, Kutb-ud-dín became *de facto* Sultán of Delhi and of Hindustan. He ruled at Lahore and Delhi, and succeeded in making good his supremacy, not only over the Hindu conquests, but also over his Musalmán colleagues and competitors. *Ilduz*, *Kubáchah*, and Muhammad Bakhtyár Khiljí, however, maintained a comparative independence; though Ghazni was at one time captured by the forces of Kutb. The latter was an accomplished warrior; he was especially famous for his generosity, which earned for him the surname of 'Bestower of Lakhs.' Long after, even in the time of Akbar, when a man was to be praised for his generosity, they would say of him, 'He is as generous as Kutb-ud-dín.'

CHAPTER X.

THE PATHÁN OR AFGHÁN SULTÁNS OF DELHI.

§ 1. The Slave Kings of Delhi. § 2. The Khilji Kings of Delhi.
 § 3. The Tughlak Kings of Delhi. § 4. The Sayyid and Lodi Dynasties.

§ 1. The Slave Kings of Delhi.—Sultán Kutb-ud-dín, because he had been one of the slaves of Sultán Muhammad Ghori, was called ‘the Sultán, the slave of the Sultán of Ghor’; and as in like manner his successors were either slaves or the sons of slaves, the dynasty was called ‘the dynasty of the slaves of the Sultáns of Ghor’—or, shortly, the ‘Slave Kings.’ They reigned for nearly a hundred years, until the year 1290 A.D.; and during this period nearly every vestige of the Hindu power in Northern India was destroyed; whilst the Muhammadan generals who had conquered Sind, Bengal, and other remote provinces, though they often rebelled and endeavoured to make themselves independent, were generally kept in close subjection to the Imperial throne of Delhi. The most famous of the sovereigns that reigned during this period were ALTAMSH, his daughter RAZÍAH (the only Empress that ever reigned in Delhi until the assumption of the Imperial title by our present Gracious Queen), and BALBAN.

Altamsh was the greatest of all the Slave Kings. He reduced to submission both the Muhammadan King of Sind, and also the Khiljí chiefs who had succeeded Muhammad Bakhtyár Khiljí as rulers of Bengal. He also subdued all the most important Hindu principalities in Hindustan; and so firmly established his power that his daughter, three of his sons, and one grandson inherited it in their turn. He ruled from 1210 to 1235 A.D.

Razíah, who was always called *Sultán*, just as if she had been a man, was a woman of wonderful energy and ability, and seemed at first to have inherited all that capacity for government which had distinguished her father Altamsh.

She, however, displeased all her nobles by showing undue favour to an Abyssinian slave in her court; and she was at length deposed and put to death, to make room for one of her brothers.

Balban was the vazír of the last of the sons of Altamsh, and had himself married one of the daughters of that monarch. He was a man of unsparing rigour, and kept his army in a high state of discipline. The most important event of his reign was the rebellion of Tughral, whom he had made governor of Bengal, who in 1282 A.D. assumed independence under the title of Sultán Mughis-ud-dín Tughral, and succeeded in defeating two several armies sent to subdue him. At length the Sultán marched against him in person; and one of his commanders, named Muhammad Sher, coming upon the forces of the rebel somewhat unexpectedly, dashed upon his camp with the most astonishing bravery, though at the head of only forty troopers. The rebels thought that they were attacked by the whole Imperial army, and took to flight. Tughral was overtaken, and his head was struck off and brought to the Sultán, who now confided Bengal to the care of his second son, Bughrá Khán. By the death of his elder brother Bughrá Khán became heir to the empire, and was begged by Balban to come back to Delhi; but he preferred his quiet and secure rule in Bengal, and ultimately his eldest son, Kaikubád, became emperor, whilst Bughrá himself remained at Laknautí as King of Bengal.

An ambitious vazír of the Emperor Kaikubád, named Nizám-ud-dín, endeavoured to sow discord between the father and son, because Bughrá Khán had warned his son against the machinations of the vazír, and remonstrated with Kaikubád about his licentious habits. The result was that the father and son met, each at the head of an army, in the plains of Bihár. For two days the armies remained encamped near each other; on the third day the old King of Bengal wrote a letter to his son with his own hand, begging for an interview. At first the wicked vazír

succeeded in preventing this interview; and even when it was arranged, he persuaded the weak young Kaikubád that it was necessary for his dignity, as Emperor of Hindustan, that his father the King of Bengal should first prostrate himself three times before him. At length the time for the meeting arrived. The son proceeded first to the Darbár tents with great pomp; then the aged father approached slowly, and as soon as he came in sight of the throne made his first prostration; as he came nearer he made the second prostration; and when he arrived at the foot of the throne was about to make the third, when the prince, deeply affected at the humiliation of his father, and stung with remorse at his own undutiful conduct, rushed into the old man's arms, and after tenderly embracing him and imploring his forgiveness, forced him to sit on the throne, whilst he himself took a respectful place below. The designs of the vazír were thus frustrated, and he shortly afterwards died by poison.

Bughrá Khán after this reigned peaceably in Bengal until his death, 1292 A.D.; but his unfortunate son Kaikubád was deposed and assassinated in 1290 by Jalál-ud-din, the first emperor of the Khiljí dynasty.

§ 2. The Khiljí Kings of Delhi, and the Conquest of the Deccan.—The Khiljí tribe were nominally Afgháns or Patháns, though really they were Turkís (*see* note on page 178) who had long settled in Afghánistán, and who aided in the Muhammadan conquest of India. Jalál-ud-din, who was the head of this tribe, was vazír of the Sultán Kaikubád, and he ultimately dethroned and killed his master. The Khiljí dynasty only ruled for thirty years, from 1290 to 1320 A.D.; but this period is an important one, for during the reigns of Jalál-ud-dín and of the ferocious and bloodthirsty ALÁ-UD-DIN KHILJÍ (nephew and murderer of Jalál-ud-dín) the Muhammadan armies of Delhi conquered the Deccan.

NOTE.—The three chief States of the Deccan at that time were Maháráshtra, capital *Deogiri* (afterwards called Daulatábád); Teling

gána, capital *Warangal*; and *Dwára Samudra*. Deogiri was situated in the north-west of what are now called the territories of the Nizám of Haidarábád (*see* Introduction, § 24), and was still governed by Rájput Rájás. Warangal was in the north-eastern part of the same territories, and was under the rule of the Andhra Rájás of Rájput descent (*see* Chapter VII. § 1). *Dwára Samudra* was in North Mysore (*see* Introduction, § 26), and its Rájás were Rájputs of the Ballála Dynasty.

During the reign of Jalál-ud-dín Khiljí, Alá-ud-dín marched through the north-west of the Deccan, and compelled Rámdeo, the Rájá of Maháráshtra, to give up to him a part of his territory, and to pay an enormous tribute. Alá-ud-dín, after he had murdered his uncle and succeeded to the throne of Delhi, sent his greatest general, the famous eunuch Malik Káfúr, four times into the Deccan. In the course of these expeditions he reconquered Rámdeo, who had revolted, and sent him to Delhi, where his treatment was so generous that he returned the attached and faithful vassal of the emperor. The Ballála Rájás of *Dwára Samudra* were also conquered; Warangal was made tributary; and the whole of the south ravaged as far as Rámeswar or Cape Comorin, in the extreme south, where a mosque was built as the sign of Muhammadan supremacy.

Before these conquests in the Deccan, Alá-ud-dín had himself subjugated the Rájput clans of Gujarát in 1297 A.D.; and from this time Gujarát became an imperial province. Shortly afterwards Alá-ud-dín reduced Rantanbhur, a famous fortress in the eastern marches of the Rájput country; and in 1303 he sacked the renowned fortress of Chitor, the capital of the Rájput Maháráná of Maiwár. The Maháráná was captured and carried to Delhi; and the hand of his beautiful Rájputní daughter was the only ransom which Alá-ud-dín would consent to accept. The brave princess feigned consent, and obtained the conqueror's permission to visit her father accompanied by her female attendants; but the palanquins, supposed to contain female slaves, concealed some trusty Rájput warriors,

who cut down the Musalmán guards and carried off their king and his daughter in safety. The Ráná afterwards recovered Chitor, and became a feudatory of the empire, sending a contingent of 5,000 foot and 10,000 horse to the imperial armies of Delhi.

Another romantic incident, which occurred during the campaigns in the Deccan, is sufficiently interesting to be mentioned here. Dewál Deví, the daughter of the Rájá of Gujarát, was renowned as the most beautiful damsel in India; and the honour of her hand had been so eagerly sought for by the Hindu princes that armies had been set in motion on her account. By chance she and all her escort were captured by the Imperial army; she was sent to Delhi, and there she found her own mother, Kamalá Deví, established as the favourite queen in the Emperor's palace. It was not long before the young heir-apparent, Khizr Khán, saw and appreciated her charms. The love was mutual; and though the Emperor was at first angry, he at length consented to the match, and the young lovers were married in due form. The story of their loves has been the subject of a beautiful, though rather lengthy, Persian poem by Amír Khusrau (*see* Introduction, § 77).

The crimes of Alá-ud-dín were believed to have brought a curse on his family. By the machinations of the successful general, Malik Káfúr, the heir-apparent Khizr Khán was thrown into prison; and on the death of his father was blinded, a young brother named Umar being set up by Káfúr as a puppet-king. Malik Káfúr was, however, soon murdered in an *émeute* of the palace-guards. Umar, in his turn, was blinded by his brother Mubárak, who also murdered Khizr, married the Princess Dewál Deví, and set himself up as Sultán. Soon the fortunes of this ill-starred family underwent a fresh change. Mubárak abandoned himself to the wildest excesses; and finally, with every male member of the royal family, was murdered by one of his profligate favourites, a Hindu of the lowest caste named Malik Khusrau, a slave who had

embraced Islám, and had risen to be a general in the Imperial armies. The poor Princess Dewál Deví was once more forcibly remarried; the baseborn usurper took her into his own seraglio, and distributed amongst his creatures the ladies of those noble families who had distinguished themselves as adherents of the fallen dynasty.

Khusrau, though professedly a Muhammadan, persecuted all who belonged to that religion; whilst the Hindu nobles hated him as an upstart and a renegade. Consequently he was soon defeated by an uprising of malcontents, under the leadership of a brave Musalmán general named Gházi Beg Tughlak, who had been Viceroy of Lahore. Khusrau suffered the just penalty of his crimes; and Tughlak, weeping at the thought that not one scion of the royal Khilji house survived to mount the vacant throne, appealed to the nobles to elect one of themselves as Sultán of Delhi. All the people with one voice saluted Tughlak himself as *Sháh Jahán*, 'Emperor of the World'; and he became Sultán, under the title of Ghiás-ud-dín TUGHLAK SHAH.

§ 3. The Tughlak Dynasty: the Invasion of Tímúr.—Eight kings of the Tughlak dynasty ruled in Delhi for nearly a hundred years, from 1320 to 1412 A.D. During this period the great Pathán Empire of Delhi gradually fell to pieces, the fragments forming independent and sometimes powerful kingdoms. This was owing partly to the weakness and folly of some of the Tughlak kings, partly to the want of loyalty amongst the great Muhammadan generals, who often regarded themselves as the equals of their master at Delhi. The disintegration of the Pathán Empire was hastened, too, by the short but terrible invasion of Tímúr the Tartar, sometimes called *Tamerlane* by European writers, who sacked Delhi in the reign of Mahmud Tughlak, in 1398 A.D.

The most important reigns of this dynasty were those of Muhammad Sháh (1325-1351); Fírúz Sháh (1351-1388); and Mahmud Sháh (1329-1412). During the

reign of Muhammad Sháh, a large portion of the Deccan became independent under the *Bahmaní* dynasty (*see* Chap. XI. § 1); and in the reign of Fírúz Sháh, nephew of Muhammad, Hájí Ilyás established the independence of the Afghán dynasty of Bengal (*see* Chap. XI. § 3). Jaunpur, Gujarát, and Málwa became independent Muhammadan kingdoms during the reign of Mahmud Sháh, the grandson of Fírúz. But the most striking event of this period was the successful invasion of Hindustan by Tímúr, to which reference has already been made, and which foreshadowed the Mughul conquest more than a century afterwards.

Tímúr was of the Chaghtái race, the leader of the immense hordes of Turkís and Mughuls that had subdued all Central and Western Asia. His chief cities were Bukhára and Samarkhand. Though only a rude Tartar, he had some pretensions to learning, and left an account of his life written by himself. These pretensions appear to have induced in him more respect for learned men than was usual amongst the Tartars. Many learned men accompanied his army on its march; and it is amusing to note that he ordered them in times of danger to be placed behind the women, and the women to be placed behind the army.

Tímúr states in his autobiography that he was induced to invade India because of the civil wars that were raging there between the feeble Sultán Mahmud and his nobles. The fortress of Bhatnír capitulated to him, notwithstanding which the luckless inhabitants were massacred. Then he marched on towards Delhi; he met the Sultán Mahmud under the walls, and utterly defeated him, and then entered the Imperial city. Mahmud fled to Gujarát, whence he did not return to Delhi until long after Tímúr had left India. The latter professed a wish to spare the inhabitants of the city, but a slight disturbance having broken out amongst them, he allowed an indiscriminate slaughter. For five days the conqueror continued feasting, while his troops plundered and slew the hapless citizens; and they carried

away captive as many as they were able of those whom they spared, including the wives and children of large numbers of the noblest Afghán and Hindu families. Tímúr almost immediately left India, as he was afraid of insurrection breaking out at home. It was said that each of his soldiers took away a hundred and fifty captives as slaves, even soldiers' boys getting twenty slaves apiece; and the richness of the booty was incalculable.

After the departure of Tímúr, the Delhi empire was in a state of anarchy for a long time, the Sultán Mahmud having no real power. On the death of the latter in 1412 A.D., the most powerful of the Afghán nobles, named Daulat Khán Lodí, seized the kingdom; but in a short time he was conquered by Sayyid Khizr Khán, whom Tímúr had appointed governor of Multán before he left India.

NOTE.—The title *Sayyid* amongst Muhammadans indicates descent from Muhammad, the Prophet and Founder of their religion. See Introduction, § 35.

§ 4. The Sayyid and Lodí Dynasties.—The Sayyid Khizr Khán at first professed to rule in right of the conqueror Tímúr; but he soon assumed complete independence, and the dynasty founded by him extended to his son, grandson, and great-grandson, and lasted from 1414 to 1450 A.D. The Sayyid kings, however, were never in any way emperors of Hindustan, for their power seldom extended far from Delhi. At last a great Afghán noble named Buhlol Lodí, who had been governor of Lahore, after several unsuccessful attempts succeeded in setting aside the weak Sayyids, and establishing the Lodí dynasty—the last of the Afghán or Pathán dynasties of Delhi.

Both Buhlol Lodí and his son Sikandar were vigorous and prosperous rulers. The long reign of Buhlol (1450–1488 A.D.) was mainly occupied with a war against the Sultáns of Jaunpur, which lasted no less than twenty-six years, and resulted in the subjugation of that kingdom.

Sikandar¹ established his authority over Bihár, the eastern Rájput states, and the whole of Northern India with the exception of Bengal; but the weakness and cruelty of his son, Ibráhím Lodí, again plunged the country into a state of anarchy, and brought about the fall of the Pathán empire. Bábar, the great Chaghtái leader of the Mughuls and Turkís of Central Asia, sixth in descent from Tímúr, was invited into India by some of Ibráhím's discontented nobles; in 1524 A.D. he obtained possession of Lahore; and two years later, in 1526 A.D., fought the celebrated battle of Pánipat, in which Ibráhím lost his kingdom and his life. This battle, called the First Battle of Pánipat, transferred the empire of Hindustani from the Patháns² to the Chaghtái (commonly called the *Mughul*) Sultáns.

CHAPTER XI.

THE RIVALS OF THE DELHI EMPIRE DURING THE PATHÁN AND EARLY MUGHUL PERIODS.

§ 1. The Bahmaní Kingdom and its offshoots in the Deccan.
§ 2. The Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar. § 3. Bengal. § 4. Jaunpur, Gujarát, and Málwa. § 5. The Rájputs.

§ 1. **The Bahmaní Kingdom and its offshoots in the Deccan.**—We have already noticed that during the weak rule of the later Pathán Sultáns of Delhi, a number of other Muhammadan States arose in various parts of India and obtained independence. Of these the greatest was the Bahmaní Kingdom of the Deccan, founded by an Afghán general named Zafar Khán during the reign of

¹ Sikandar Lodi transferred the capital of Hindustan from Delhi to Agra; and the latter city was the chief residence of the Sultáns down to the time of Sháh Jahán.

² The Sultáns of Delhi from Muhammad Ghori to Ibráhím Lodí are commonly called *Patháns* or *Afgháns*; but most of them were really not Afghán but Túrki (see note on page 178) in their origin.

Muhammad Tughlak. Zafar Khán defeated the generals sent against him by the Sultán of Delhi, and established himself at Kulbargah as independent Sultán of the Deccan. He had formerly been the slave of a Bráhma named Gango, who had treated him with great kindness, and had foretold his future greatness; and in honour of his old master, he now took the title of Sultán Alá-ud-dín Hasan *Gango Bahmaní*, whence the dynasty founded by him is called the Bahmaní dynasty. It consisted of no less than eighteen kings, who in turn ruled the Deccan for more than one hundred and fifty years, from 1347 to 1526 A.D. In the very year in which the Pathán dynasty was expelled from Delhi by the battle of Pánipat, the last of the Bahmaní kings ceased to reign in the Deccan. Even before this date, however, several independent States had sprung up on the ruins of the Bahmaní power; and ultimately five great Deccani kingdoms were formed, which were eventually subjugated by the Mughul Emperors of Delhi. These five dynasties were:—

(1).—The *Adil Sháhí* dynasty of Bījápúr, founded by Adil Sháh in 1489. It had many wars both with the Mahrattas (*see* Chap. XVI.) and with the Mughuls, and was finally subverted by Aurangzeb in 1686 A.D.

(2).—The *Nizám Sháhí* kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Chand Bibí defended this state against the armies of Akbar; and Malik Ambar was one of its statesmen and heroes (*see* Chaps. XIII. and XIV.). It was destroyed by Sháh Jahán in 1637 A.D.

(3).—The *Kutb Sháhí* dynasty of Golkondah, on the eastern side of the Deccan, subverted by Aurangzeb in 1687 A.D.

(4).—The *Imad Sháhí* kingdom of Barár at Ilichpur, annexed by Ahmadnagar in 1574.

(5).—The *Barid Sháhí* dynasty of Bidar.

§ 2. **Vijayanagar.**—The Hindu kingdom of *Vijayanagar* in the Deccan was founded, like the Bahmaní kingdom, in

the reign of Muhammad Tughlak, about 1336 A.D. It was sometimes called the kingdom of Bijánagar or Narsingha, and occupied the territories now called the Madras Presidency ; and was finally destroyed by a combination of the Muhammadan kings of Bijápur, Ahmadnagar, Golkondah, and Bidar, in the great battle of TALIKOT on the Krishna, A.D. 1565. The aged King of Vijayanagar, named *Rám Rájá*, was slaughtered in cold blood by the allies, who behaved with great cruelty after the battle. The brother of Rám Rájá afterwards established himself at Chandragiri, seventy miles north-west of Madras ; and in 1640 A.D. made a grant to the English of the site of the city of Madras.

§ 3. Bengal.—Shams-ud-dín Ilyás, commonly called Háji Ilyás, successfully defended himself in the fort of Ekdálah, near Panduah, against Fírúz Tughlak in 1353 A.D., and thus established his independence in Bengal. His dynasty lasted with some interruptions for more than a century. At one time a Hindu dynasty, founded by Rájá Ganesa (called by Musalmán writers *Kans*), of Dinájpur, obtained power for a short time.

At a later period, Bengal was ruled by a short-lived dynasty of Abyssinian slaves ; and the succession was much broken in the latter part of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Sultán Alá-ud-dín, a Sayyid, succeeded the Abyssinians in 1449. He gave an asylum to the unfortunate Husain Sháh of Jaunpur, when the latter was defeated by Buhlol Lodí of Delhi (*see* Chap. X. § 4) ; but subsequently was compelled to make an alliance with Sikandar Lodí. Two of his sons reigned after him ; the last, Mahmud Sháh, was expelled by Sher Sháh in 1538 (*see* Chap. XII. § 3) ; and though restored by Humáyún, he died shortly afterwards.

Members of the family of Sher Sháh ruled in Bengal until 1564 ; when Sulaimán Sháh, of the Kararání clan of Afgháns, obtained the throne. He made peace with Akbar's general, Munim Khán. The subjugation of

Sulaimán's son, Dáúd, by Akbar and his generals, is narrated in Chapter XII.

§ 4. Jaunpur, Gujarát, Málwa.—The vazír of the Emperor Mahmud Tughlak (*see* Chap. X. § 3) was appointed governor of Jaunpur in the province of Benares, with the title of *Malik-us-Shark*; and in 1393 A.D. he asserted his independence, and founded a powerful kingdom, which lasted until its suppression by Buhlol Lodí in 1474. The Court of the Sultáns of Jaunpur was famous for its splendour, and for the encouragement given to learned men there; the dynasty is often called the *Sharki* dynasty.

The Muhammadan kingdoms of Málwa and Gujarát likewise owed their existence to the feebleness of the later Tughlak Sultáns of Delhi; and these two dynasties are very famous in Rájput history, for throughout the fifteenth century there was incessant war between them and their Rájput neighbours. The Málwa kingdom was finally overthrown in 1531 by an alliance between the Rájputs and the Musalmán King of Gujarát, Bahádur Sháh. Bahádur was subsequently killed by the Portuguese; and in 1571 A.D. Gujarát was conquered by Akbar, and once more became a province of the Delhi empire.

§ 5. The Rájputs.—It has been noticed that the two neighbouring Musalmán kingdoms of Málwa and Gujarát proved more formidable to the clans of Rájputána than the unwieldy Delhi empire ever had been. The Sultáns of Delhi had, except on rare occasions, confined their interference in Rájputána to the keeping open of the communications between the capital and the outlying province of Gujarát, by way of Ajmer. Rantanbhur and other of the eastern Rájput strongholds often changed hands, and even Chitor for a time fell into Musalmán hands, under Alá-ud-dín Khiljí; but, whilst the territories of the clans were thus continually encircled by war, the Delhi armies had never established any firm footing in the heart of the country.

But the Muhammadan kings of Málwa and Gujarát looked on their Rájput neighbours as their natural enemies, and the rightful objects both of their religious enthusiasm and their desire for plunder. Between the Gujarát monarchs and the Sesodia Rájputs of Maiwár, a constant struggle for territory went on. The sacred hill of Abu was occupied by the Musalmán troops; Chitor was twice besieged; Bundi was sacked; and in 1454 A.D. Muhammad Khilji, the King of Málwa, marched up as far as Ajmer, then in the hands of the Rájputs, and took the fort by storm. From that time Ajmer remained in subjection to Málwa for about fifty years, and frequent predatory excursions were made into the sparsely populated districts of Márwár. The Rájputs were expelled from the plains north-west of Ahmadabad by the Gujarát forces; whilst the King of Málwa took from the Chohán Rájputs of eastern Rájputána a great part of their southern lands, and for some time occupied both the great fortresses of Rantanbur and Chanderi. After the storm of the invasion of Tímúr had weakened the Tughlak dynasty in Delhi, the Rájputs for a short time regained some ground in the east; but they were again beaten back by Sikandar Lodí. From the end of the fifteenth century the permanent territory of the independent clans was confined within those natural barriers formed by the difficult country which still more or less marks off their possessions in Central India; though in several parts, and especially about Gwalior, the Mahratta usurpations have overlaid the ancient dominion of the clans.

The period of the disruption of the last Afghán dynasty of Delhi, briefly noticed in our last chapter, was signalised in Rájput history by a transient revival of the ancient military prestige of the Rájput clans. A ruler of great political ability as well as marvellous personal valour, the Ráná Sangá of Maiwár, arose among them to take advantage of the weakness of their hereditary enemies. The Muhammadan States of Málwa and Gujarát were, as we have already mentioned, at this time engaged in deadly

warfare between themselves. Sangá was bravely and skilfully aided by a vassal chief, Medini Rao, to whom he had given the fortress and territory of Chanderi; and these two fought with great success against both Málwa and Gujarát. Muhammad Khilji II. of Málwa on one occasion defeated Medini Rao, with great slaughter of the Rájputs, at Mandu; but in 1519 he was himself defeated at *Gagron* by Sangá and the chivalry of Maiwár. The Musalmán king was captured by Sangá; and in 1526 the Ráná, with the aid of the Muhammadans of Gujarát, subdued the whole of Málwa, and annexed to his own dominions the fine eastern provinces of that kingdom, and thus once more got possession of the famous Rájput strongholds of the eastern marches.

By this conquest Sangá raised the power of the Rajputs to the highest point which it has reached in modern times. He now held the undisputed hegemony of all the Rájput clans; and the empire of Hindustan, with the historical position of *Mahárájá Adhiráj*, seemed within the grasp of his ambition. But in the very year of the conquest of Málwa, Bábar and his Mughuls appeared on the scene of Indian history to extinguish the effete Pathán dynasties of Delhi; and to this new and irresistible force the short-lived power of the Rájput revival soon had to succumb. The battle of *Fathpur Sikri*, to be noticed in our next chapter, extinguished the last chance which the Rájputs ever had of regaining their ancient empire and of restoring Hindu rule to the plains of Northern India.

CHAPTER XII.

BÁBAR AND HUMÁYÚN, THE FIRST MUGHUL
EMPERORS, A.D. 1526-1556.

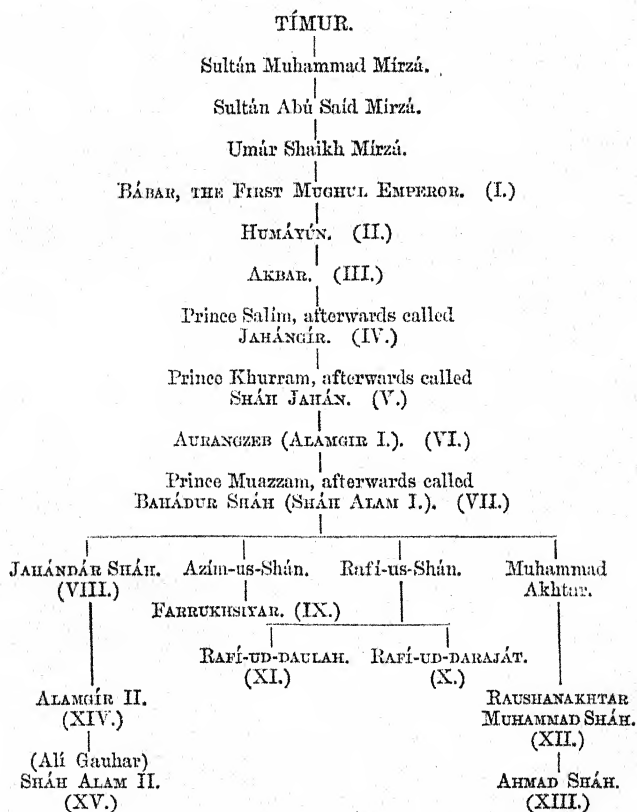
§ 1. Bábar. § 2. Humáyún. § 3. Sher Sháh and the Súr
Dynasty.

§ 1. Bábar.—It has already been noticed that Bábar, as a descendant of the great Tímúr, belonged to the Chaghtái tribe, a tribe nearly akin to the Mughuls. Like his ancestor he wrote an account of his own life, and these *Memoirs* are remarkable for their simplicity and absence of affectation. His early life in Central Asia was one of remarkably diversified fortune. He was sometimes a captive, sometimes a victorious monarch; and his undaunted bravery, patience in adversity, perseverance, and elasticity of mind are truly admirable. The remarks that he used to make in his *Memoirs*, whenever he was successful, show that he deserved success: 'Not to me, O God! but to thee be the glory of the victory,' said the pious and chivalrous Bábar, when he won the battle of Pánipat as narrated in Chapter X.

This great victory, indeed, only gave him possession of Delhi and Agra, the dominions of Ibráhím Lodí. Prince Humáyún immediately marched eastward, and conquered the whole country as far as Jaunpur. In the following year, 1527, the Rájputs, as described in the last chapter, made their great effort, under the renowned Sangá, to follow up the successes which they had already gained against the Musalmáns of Málwa and Gujarát, and against Bábar's own predecessors in Delhi. But Sangá had now a more formidable foe to meet. He was joined by the faithful Medini Rao, by the Rájás of Marwár and Jaipur, and by the bulk of the Rájput chivalry; but he was totally routed by Bábar (1527), in the decisive battle of FATHPUR SIKRI, and the storming of Chanderi early in 1528 firmly established the Mughul superiority. The brave Rájputs of Chanderi perished to a man in the desperate struggle; and

Genealogical Table of the House of Tímúr.

The numbers in brackets show the succession of the Mughul Emperors.



in the course of the same year Bihár and Bengal also submitted to Bábar's arms.

Bábar's death is remarkable. Humáyún, his eldest son, was dangerously ill, when Bábar conceived the idea of offering his own life for his son's, according to a well-known Eastern custom. In the accomplishment of this loving resolve, he walked round the bed of the sick youth three times, praying solemnly to God that the disease might be transferred to himself. After this act, he exclaimed, in the full belief that his prayer was heard, 'I have borne it away.' And, strange to say, Humáyún recovered from that hour; while the father, whose health was already decaying, began rapidly to decline. With exhortations on his lips to his children and courtiers that they should live in concord, he died December 26, 1530.

Bábar's character was disfigured by cruelty to enemies; but he was marvellously brave, patient, and generous. His military skill was very great. Many stories are told to show his keen sense of justice and honour. On one occasion, when a rich caravan from China was lost in the snows on the mountains within his dominions, he ordered all the goods to be collected, and sent messengers to China to proclaim the accident and bring the owners to his Court to receive back their goods. They were at length found, and presented themselves before Bábar after a lapse of two years, when he entertained them sumptuously, and scrupulously gave them all the goods they had lost.

§ 2. *Humáyún.*—Humáyún succeeded, and reigned nominally for twenty-six years, from 1530 to 1556 A.D.; but during nearly sixteen years of this period he was an exile in the Court of Sháh Tahmásp of Persia, and the Afghán *Sher Shír* and his successors were Emperors of Hindustan. A war against *Bahádúr Sháh*, King of Gujarát [*see* Chap. XI., § 4] is remarkable on account of a daring exploit performed by Humáyún; with only 300 followers he scaled the walls of Champánír, the strong fortress in which were deposited the treasures of Bahádúr.

This war was followed by a fatal attempt to drive *Sher Súr* [see next section] from the throne of Bengal, which he had lately seized. The emperor took *Gaur*, the capital of Bengal; but was subsequently treacherously surprised by Sher in the midst of some negotiations at Chausa, and only escaped capture (1539) by leaping on his horse and plunging in the river Ganges. He was nearly drowned, when a water-carrier rescued him, and brought him safely to the other bank, whence he escaped to Agra. By the aid of his brothers (who had formerly plotted against him, but now united to oppose Sher), he was able to raise another army; but he was again totally defeated in a battle near KANAUJ (1540), and was now compelled to fly to Persia, enduring many hardships in his flight. The Persian king Sháh Tahmásp at first treated him ungenerously, trying to force him to become a *Shíah*, as the Persians were, though Humáyún, like most Hindustani Muhammadans, was a *Súnní*.

NOTE.—The Shíah and Súnní are the two great sects into which the Muhammadans are divided.

At length, however, he gave him some troops to aid him in regaining his dominions, and in 1556 Humáyún again obtained possession of Delhi and Agra. We must now revert to the history of the dynasty that had been ruling in Hindustan during Humáyún's long Persian exile.

§ 3. *Sher Sháh and the Súr Dynasty*.—*Sher Súr* was a brave Afghán soldier, who had gradually by his skill and valour—unhappily often disgraced by treachery—acquired the sovereignty of Bengal [see Chap. XI. § 3]. After the defeat of Humáyún at the battle of Kanauj in 1540, Sher became Emperor of Hindustan, and for five years ruled wisely and benevolently. He is said to have made a road from Bengal to the banks of the Indus with a caravan-serai at every stage, and wells at intervals of a mile and a half. If his successors of the Súr dynasty had been as wise and brave as Sher, it is probable that Humáyún and his Mughuls would never have been able to return to India.

But the third monarch of the line, *Muhammad Adil Sháh*, was a despicable tyrant; and his successors, *Ibráhím* and *Sikandar*, were merely rebels against his authority, who were temporarily successful in establishing themselves at *Agra* and *Delhi*. So *Humáyún*, on his return to India in 1556 with some Persian troops, was soon able, by the aid of his faithful general *Bairám Khán* (*see* Chap. XIII. § 2), to drive *Sikandar Súr* away to the *Himálaya* Mountains, and to take possession of the two capitals. He died six months after re-entering *Delhi*, 1556; but the empire was still in a very unsettled state, for *Sikandar* was hovering about the slopes of the mountains with an army, whilst the brave and skilful *vazír* of *Adil Sháh*, named *Hemú*, was on the borders of *Bengal*.

CHAPTER XIII.

AKBAR, THE GREATEST OF THE MUGHUL EMPERORS. A.D. 1556-1605.

§ 1. The early life of Akbar. § 2. *Bairám Khán*. § 3. *Hemú* and the second battle of *Pánipat*. § 4. The fall of *Bairám*. § 5. Akbar's Conquests. § 6. Akbar's dealings with the *Rájputs*. § 7. The Conquest of *Bengal*. § 8. *Chánd Bibí* of *Ahmadnagar*. § 9. General remarks on Akbar's character and administration.

§ 1. **Early life of Akbar.**—Akbar was the third Mughul Emperor, and under him the Mughuls overran and conquered all Northern India, and a considerable portion of the Deccan.

Akbar was born at *Amarkot* in *Sind*, whilst his father *Humáyún* was flying from *Sher Sháh*, in 1542; and when still an infant (in 1543) he fell into the hands of his uncle *Kámrán* (who had obtained the government of *Kandahár*), and remained in his custody until 1555. Akbar's wet-nurse, who had the title of *Jí Jí Anagah*, with her husband *Atgah Khán*, had charge of the young child during these years; and the affection which Akbar afterwards displayed,

throughout their lives, to his foster-mother and foster-father, is well known. Many years afterwards Atgah Khán was slain in the royal palace by the dagger of a noble named Adham Khán; when Akbar himself immediately ran to the spot, struck Adham Khán a blow in the face which sent him spinning to the ground, and then had him thrown headlong from a pinnacle of the palace. The son of Jí Jí Anagah, called Mirzá Azíz, was raised to the highest rank by Akbar; and, with the title of Khán-i-Azam, was one of the greatest generals under Akbar and his successor. Azíz, who was a very bold man, often offended Akbar; but the latter would never punish him, always saying, 'Between me and Azíz there is a river of milk, which I cannot cross.'

When Humáyún died, Akbar was only thirteen years and four months old; and the young prince, with his guardian or *atáliq*, the great Bairám Khán, had to encounter the Afghán armies both of Adil Sháh and of Sikandar.

§ 2. Bairám Khán.—Bairám Khán was a *Sháh* of Turkish descent, and his name is one of the most distinguished in Indian history. He had been the faithful companion of Humáyún in his exile; and whilst in Persia had been made a Khán by Sháh Tahmásp. An interesting story is told of the devotion to him of one of his followers named Abdul Kásim, Governor of Gwalior. Bairám was flying from Sher Sháh; and was on his way to Gujarát when he was intercepted by one of Sher Sháh's commanders. Abul Kásim was with him; and, being a man of imposing stature, was mistaken for Bairám. The latter immediately stepped forward, and said, 'I am Bairám.' 'No,' said Abul Kásim, 'he is my attendant, and, brave and faithful as he is, he wishes to sacrifice himself for me; so let him off.' Abul Kásim was then killed, and Bairám escaped to the protection of the King of Gujarát, and thence to Persia.

Humáyún's restoration to the throne of Hindústán may justly be ascribed to the military skill and general abilities

of Bairám. He won the battle of *Máchhiwírah*, which was the first great blow to the Afghán power; and just before Humáyún's death, was appointed *atáliq* of Prince Akbar, and sent with him against Sikandar Súr. On Akbar's accession he received the title of *Khán Bábí*, and acted as regent for the young king, and was the commander-in-chief in the operations against Hemú, and afterwards against Sikandar.

§ 3. *Hemú and the Second Battle of Pá nipat.*—In the meantime Hemú boldly marched towards Delhi, and defeated one detachment of Akbar's troops under Tardi Beg. Bairám caused this officer to be executed for his rashness in attacking Hemú, on account of which execution he incurred the hatred of all the Chaghtái nobles, who were generally Súnnis; for Tardi Beg was a Chaghtái Súní, whilst Bairám (as we have said) was a Turkí Shíah. The latter immediately prepared to attack Hemú; and at length a great battle was fought on November 5, 1556, at Pá nipat, between the vanguard of Bairám's army under *Khán Zamán* and the army of Adil Sháh under Hemú. Hemú was defeated, captured, and slain; and this *Second Battle of Pá nipat* completely established the Mughul power; for Sikandar shortly afterwards submitted to Akbar, and was pardoned.

§ 4. *The fall of Bairám.*—The regency of Bairám, owing to his firmness in administration and his great military ability, was remarkably successful; but he carried matters with a high hand as the *atáliq* of the young Emperor, and became very obnoxious to the *Umarás* or grandees. Akbar himself was persuaded to assume the supreme power in his eighteenth year (1560 A.D.). At length Bairám, seeing his power gone, broke out into rebellion; but was soon overcome, and threw himself on the mercy of Akbar, who treated him with the utmost generosity and affection. Bairám now set out to visit Mecca, the Muhammadan way of retiring from public life; but was assassinated in Gujarát.

§ 5. *Akbar's Conquests.*—The fall of Bairám left Akbar

to govern alone. He proceeded to consolidate his power in India with the most wonderful courage, prudence, and ability; and before his death was absolute master of all Hindustan (including Kashmír and Kandahár) and part of the Deccan, and was one of the most powerful and famous monarchs of that age.

He first had to contend with a rebellion of his own nobles; Khán Zamán, the victor of Pánipat, being the chief rebel. When this rebellion was put down, he subdued in succession the Rájputs of Maiwár, Gujarát, Bihár, Bengal, Orissa, Kashmír, Sind, Kandahár; also Ahmadnagar, Khándesh, and part of Barár. Akbar's invariable policy was to deal mercifully and even generously with the conquered, generally making any conquered prince a grandee (or *Umará*) of his court and an officer of his army; and in this way he obtained the gratitude and affection of a large number of Indian princes, especially amongst the Rájputs of Jaipur and Jodhpur. It would be tedious if we attempted to narrate the history of all these extensive conquests; it will be sufficient if we give a brief account of (1) Akbar's dealings with the Rájputs, (2) his conquest of Bengal, and (3) his wars with *Chánd Bibi*, the famous queen of Ahmadnagar, in the Deccan.

§ 6. Akbar's dealings with the Rájputs.—The Rájá of Jaipur (Amber) was Bihári Mall. Akbar eventually married his daughter: and Salim (*Jahángír*), the heir-apparent, was married to another princess of the same family. This Rájá was the first who formed such an alliance. Rájá Bihári's son, Rájá Bhagaván Dás, Akbar's brother-in-law, was one of the most distinguished courtiers in this reign; and was appointed Amír-ul-Umará, and governor of the Punjab. Bhagaván's son, Rájá Mán Singh, was one of Akbar's best generals; and as a commander of seven thousand was of higher rank than any Muhammadan officer. He did good service in the Punjab and Kábul; and, as governor of Bengal, settled the affairs of that province, and put down the Afghán rebellions.

The Ráná of Maiwár was Udai Singh, son of Ráná Sangá. Here there was an obstinate and bloody war, and Akbar was victorious. In 1580 Ráná Partáb (son of Udai Singh) regained a part of his dominions and founded Udaipur; and his descendants are now often called Mahá-ránás of Udaipur.

The Ráná of Jodhpur or Marwár was Máldeo. Akbar married his heir Jahángír to the grand-daughter of Máldeo, called Jodh Báí. Jahángír's mother was also a Rájput princess; and the Muhammadan historian expresses a hope about her, 'that God will receive her in his mercy; for Jahángír's mother, though a Hindu, could hardly be sent to hell.' The Ránás of Udaipur alone refused all such imperial alliances, and despised the other Rájput families for permitting them.

From this period, the Rájput chiefs constantly entered the imperial service of Delhi as governors or generals; there were at one time no less than forty-seven Rájput mounted contingents in the imperial army, and the head-long charges of their cavalry became famous in the military annals of the Mughul empire. Thus, whereas up to the reign of Akbar the Rájput clans had maintained their political freedom, though within territorial limits they were always changing, from the end of the sixteenth century we may regard their chiefs as having become feudatories or tributaries of the empire, which was their natural and honourable relation to the paramount power in India. The *Ain-i-Akbari* (see § 9) includes in Súbah Ajmer the whole of Central Rájputána, except a few outlying tracts which fall into other divisions; while Southern Rájputána is brought within the Málwa and Gujarát Subáhs.

Sháh Jahán and Sháh Alam (both, like Jahángír, sons of Rájput mothers) were largely indebted to their Rájput kinsmen for their success in vindicating their claims to the imperial throne; and the Rájput chivalry took a very prominent part in every military movement of importance

in the Mughul empire, until the time when there ceased to be a Mughul emperor to command their allegiance.

§ 7. The Conquest of Bengal.—After Gujarát had submitted, Akbar's next conquest was that of Bihár, Bengal, and Orissa. Munim Khán, the successor of Bairám Khán as Khán-Khánán, and Akbar's governor of Jaunpur, had extorted promises of submission from Sulaimán Kararání, the Afghan chief of Bengal; but DÁÚD Khán, the son of Sulaimán, had asserted his independence. Akbar himself marched against him in 1574, and took from him Hájjipur and Patna; leaving Munim Khán as governor of Bihár, with orders to follow Dáúd into Bengal. Rájá Todar Mall, the celebrated finance minister, was the life and soul of this expedition; Dáúd was reduced to submission at the battle of *Mughulmári*, near *Jaleswara* (Jellasar) in Orissa, and was allowed to retain possession of Katak (*Outtack*).

Shortly afterwards, Dáúd again rebelled, and overran Bengal. Khán Jahán had succeeded Munim Khán (who had died of the effects of the climate of Gaur); and he, with Todar Mall as second in command, defeated and slew Dáúd at the battle of Akmahall, in 1576 A.D. Khán Jahán subsequently defeated the remnants of Dáúd's followers at Sátganw, near Húgli; and gradually conquered the whole of Bengal before his death in 1578 A.D.

Not long after his death, however, a more serious insurrection than ever broke out amongst the great Mughul *Jágirdárs* of Bengal and Bihár, who had been granted lands in the conquered provinces.

[NOTE.—A *jágirdár* is the holder of a *jágir*, *i.e.* land given (generally as a reward for distinguished conduct) to a person on condition of his performing certain services to the supreme lord. These services were nearly always of a military nature, *i.e.* the *jágirdár* was bound to attend his lord in time of need with a specified number of troops; and if the rules were exactly followed, the surplus revenues of the *jágir*, after paying the stipends of the *jágirdár* himself and his troops, ought to be paid to the supreme lord. It was the enforcement of this last rule that led to the great military revolt in Bengal of which we are now speaking.]

Before this revolt of the Jágirdárs was entirely put down, the Afgháns had again risen in Orissa and had overrun part of Bengal; and these provinces were only finally conquered and settled during the long and successful governorship of Rájá Mán Singh of Jaipur (*see* § 6), who ruled Bengal for Akbar from 1589 to 1604.

§ 8. **Chánd Bíbí of Ahmadnagar.**—In Chap. XI. § 1, the origin of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and of the other Musalmán kingdoms of the Deccan was briefly noticed. In consequence of the dissensions in Ahmadnagar between the Hindu and Abyssinian nobles, Murád (second son of Akbar) and Mirza Khán (son of Bairám Khán) were sent to take possession of the city, 1595 A.D. The city of Ahmadnagar was then in the hands of the celebrated Chánd Bíbí, the aunt of the infant Sultán, Babádúr Nizám Sháh. She made peace with her father-in-law the King of Bijápur, conciliated the Abyssinian nobles, and defended the city with astonishing skill and bravery against Prince Murád, who was now pressing the siege. A breach was made in the wall, and the defenders were on the point of giving up the city, when the Sultána appeared in full armour, veiled, with a drawn sword in her hand; and standing in the breach she renewed the struggle, which ended at nightfall by the withdrawal of the Mughul armies. The dawn beheld the breach thoroughly repaired, and the queen-regent, who had not quitted her post, ready to meet the assailants. But Murád abandoned the siege, and a peace was concluded. Akbar in 1599 arrived in person at Burhánpur. Daulatábád had been taken, and Prince Dányál (Akbar's third son), with Mirza Khán, was sent on again to besiege Ahmadnagar, Chánd Bíbí had been murdered by the opponents of her little nephew the Sultán. The Mughuls now took the city, made a great slaughter of the traitors, and took the young king prisoner.

§ 9. **Akbar's character and administration.**—When Akbar was growing old and was sick unto death, there

were great discussions as to whether his son Salím (afterwards the Emperor Jahángír) or his grandson Khusráu should succeed him. But the Sultán himself at length solemnly nominated Salím as his successor, in the presence of the Umarás or grandees; and shortly afterwards died, having done his best to inculcate unity and loyalty by his dying words.

Akbar was strongly built and handsome in person, sober and abstemious in his habits. He was fond of hunting and athletic sports, and often walked thirty or forty miles in a day. He was very studious, most methodical in the despatch of business, understood Sanskrit, encouraged every kind of literature, and superintended many important literary undertakings. He was very affectionate both to his family and to his friends; humane, and compassionate.

He founded a new sect of Muhammadanism, which he called the '*Divine Faith*,' and of which he declared himself the head; and because he allowed the disciples of this faith (the 'elect') to prostrate themselves before him in private, though not in public, many orthodox Muhammadans accused him of assuming rights that belong only to God. He was also accused of worshipping the sun; and he certainly had a great leaning to the religious views of the *Pársis* (see Introduction, § 91), who see in the sun a manifestation of the Deity. But the peculiar feature of his religion was *universal toleration*.

He desired to treat all his subjects alike, to abolish the distinction of Hindu and Muhammadan, and thus to fuse the discordant elements of his empire into one homogeneous whole. Nearly every conquered king or general, whether Hindu or Musalmán, who showed signs of submission and loyalty, received proofs of Akbar's lenity and favours in the shape either of an appointment at court or of the command of a district. In the seventh year of his reign he abolished the *jiziah* (a poll-tax on all Hindus and other infidels, which had been exacted with great severity under some of the Afghán kings) and all taxes on

pilgrims. The *jiziah* was not reimposed until the time of Aurangzeb.

The famous financial reforms of Akbar, in reducing the expense of the collection of the revenue, in preventing the extortions of the government officers, and in equalising the pressure of taxation, were ably carried out by the great Hindu financier, Rájá TODAR MALL (*see* § 7). Todar Mall is said to have based his wise fiscal measures mainly on the enactments of Sher Sháh, the first of the Súr dynasty. The empire was divided into eighteen Súbahs, each under a Súbahdár or viceroy (*see* map at page 207). A full account of these súbahs, with a minute description of every department of government, and everything connected with the emperor's establishments, public and private, may be found in the *Ain-i-Akbari* or *Institutes of Akbar*, written by ABUL FAZL. This eminent man, and his brother Faizi (who was also a learned man, a poet, and the first Muhammadan who studied the literature of the Hindus) were Akbar's most intimate friends and counsellors. Abul Fazl rose to the highest military commands, and was prime minister. He was killed at the instigation of Prince Salím in 1603.

Akbar also effected important reforms in the administration of the army; of which the most important was the order that soldiers were henceforward to be paid in cash, not by *jágírs* or assignments of lands.

CHAPTER XIV.

JAHÁNGÍR, SHÁH JAHÁN, and AURANGZEB.

A.D. 1605—1627—1658—1707.

§ 1. Mughul Conquest of the Deccan. § 2. Jahángír. § 3. Sháh Jahán. § 4. Aurangzeb.

§ 1. Mughul Conquest of the Deccan.—The son, grandson, and great-grandson of Akbar, who occupied succes-

sively the imperial throne of Hindustan, were three of the richest and most powerful monarchs that have ever lived in the world. The last of them, Aurangzeb, though inferior to the great Akbar in personal character, was fully his equal in general ability, in resolution, and energy; whilst he reigned with absolute sway over a much larger empire.

During the course of these three long and prosperous reigns the Mughuls were gradually conquering the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan (*see* Chap. XI.). Under Aurangzeb they completed those conquests, and they first came into contact with the Mahrattas, who afterwards so effectually humbled the Mughul power. We cannot attempt to give the details of the various campaigns in the Deccan. It may, however, be noted (1) that the power of Ahmadnagar was sustained, during nearly the whole of Jahángír's reign, by a famous Abyssinian noble of that city, named MALIK AMBAR, who administered the government in the name of the successor of Chánd Bibí; (2) that Ahmadnagar was finally subdued early in the reign of Sháh Jahán (1637); and (3) that Bijápur, and at last Golkondah, were conquered by Aurangzeb in 1687 and 1688, after many arduous campaigns.

§ 2. Jahángír.—Some of the most interesting incidents of the reign of Jahángír are connected with his marriage with the celebrated *Mihrunnisá Khánum*, the widow of Sher Afkan, which took place in 1611.

She was called after her marriage Núr Mahall (*the light of the palace*); and subsequently obtained the name by which she is most commonly known, Núr Jahán (*the light of the world*). She was of a noble Persian family, which had been reduced to poverty; in consequence of which her father emigrated to India. On the way, at Kandahár, Núr Jahán was born. To such poverty were they reduced that the infant, who was afterwards to become the mighty empress of wide-world renown, was exposed on the high road, where a merchant saw the child, and compassionately took it for his own. The child's own mother was em-

ployed by him as its nurse; and to his kindness her family was indebted for an introduction to the court of Akbar. Here the father and eldest son soon rose into notice; and the mother had free access to the *hárám* of Akbar, where the young and beautiful girl saw and captivated Jahángír, then Prince Salím. To remove her from the Prince's sight she was, by Akbar's advice, married to Sher Afkan, a young Persian, who was made governor of Burdwán.

When Jahángír became emperor he suggested to Kuth-dín, Viceroy of Bengal, that he should induce Núr Jahán's husband to divorce her. Her husband refused; and in the quarrel that ensued both the Viceroy and Sher Afkan were killed. Núr Jahán was sent to Delhi; but she, looking upon the emperor as the murderer of her husband, rejected his overtures with disdain. After a length of time, however, a reconciliation took place, and Núr Jahán became Empress of India. Her name was put on the coinage with the Emperor's. Her influence was unbounded. Her father was made prime minister; and her brother, Asaf Khán, was given a very high appointment. They used their power well; and though Jahángír still indulged in nightly drunken debauches, the affairs of the kingdom were henceforth managed with prudence and humanity.

The year 1615 was marked by the arrival of a grand embassy from James I., King of England, to the Emperor Jahángír. Sir Thomas Roe was the ambassador, and he was received with great honour, being assigned the highest place at court at all public ceremonies. By his influence the English trade with India was encouraged. We shall see in a future chapter that the Portuguese had already established themselves in the country; and from this time the European settlements in India rapidly grew in importance.

The intrigues of the Empress Núr Jahán to insure the succession of Prince Shahryár, Jahángír's youngest son (who had married the daughter she had borne to Sher Afkan, her first husband) drove Sháh Jahán (the third son

of the emperor) into rebellion. Sháh Jahán had greatly distinguished himself in many wars, and he now succeeded in making himself supreme in Bengal for two years. He subsequently submitted to his father.

Mahábat Khán, a famous general, had been brought to Delhi from his government of Kábul, by Núr Jahán, who hoped that he would aid her in carrying out her wishes in opposition to Sháh Jahán. He did so at first, and the reputation which he won in the campaigns in the Deccan made him the most eminent man in the empire, except perhaps the queen's own brother, Asaf Khan. But he became a friend and partisan of Prince Parwíz, whom Nur Jahán hated as much as Sháh Jahán, and thus he incurred the bitter hostility of the Queen.

Mahábat was summoned to join the Emperor, as the latter was marching with his army towards Kábul. He came, attended by 5,000 Rájput horsemen devoted to his service; but on his arrival was told that he could not see the emperor. Seeing that his disgrace was resolved on, he determined to avert it by a stroke of unparalleled audacity. He waited until the emperor's troops had crossed the Jhelam, and when Jahángír himself was about to follow he suddenly secured the passage of the river with a part of his Rájputs, whilst with the rest he seized the emperor's person. Núr Jahán strove in vain to liberate her husband, and at length resolved to share his captivity. She narrowly escaped being put to death by the victor. Mahábat was now supreme, and retained his power for nearly a year. Núr Jahán at length succeeded in effecting the escape of the emperor, and Mahábat was compelled to fly to the south, where he joined Sháh Jahán.

Sháh Jahán soon after this succeeded his father as emperor, and he ordered Núr Jahán to lead a strictly secluded life, but generously allowed her a magnificent income. This generosity, however, was marred by the fact that he slew his brother Shahryár and every male of the race of Bábar.

§ 3. *Sháh Jahán*.—A formidable rebellion of the *Súbahdar* (governor of the *súbah* or province) of the Deccan, who was called *Khán Jahán Lodí*, was suppressed in 1630. A large part of *Sháh Jahán's* reign was occupied by incessant wars in the Deccan, conducted at first by himself and his generals, and latterly by his sons, especially the great *Aurangzeb*, who was the third son.

Sháh Jahán will always be famous for the splendour of his buildings and other public works, and for the magnificence of his court, with the glorious 'peacock throne,' covered over with precious gems, and worth six and a half crores. He built the *Táj Mahall* at Agra, as the mausoleum of his queen, *Mumtáz Mahall*; it is made of pure white marble, decorated with mosaic-work of many-coloured precious stones, and is in solemn grandeur unsurpassed by any building in the world. Besides the peacock throne *Sháh Jahán* left vast treasures, including no less than twenty-four crores of rupees in coin alone.

He was on the whole a good and just ruler. He never remitted his vigilance over the administration; and in this way, and by a judicious selection of his ministers, he secured the prosperity of his dominions, which enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity during his reign.

§ 4. *Aurangzeb*.—*Aurangzeb* had two elder brothers, named *Dará* and *Shujá*, and one younger, named *Murád*. In 1657 the illness of *Sháh Jahán* became known to the brothers, although *Dará*, who was at Agra, endeavoured to conceal it; and they all immediately made preparations to seize the throne. *Aurangzeb* at last managed, by the most shameful duplicity and unnatural cruelty, to defeat and kill or drive away all his brothers and their families in succession (1658); and he kept his father, old *Sháh Jahán*, in prison until his death in 1666.

Mír Jumlá was a great general, to whose aid *Aurangzeb* was much indebted for his success against his brothers; so he was made Governor of Bengal in succession to the Prince *Shujá*, whom he had driven into Arakán. *Shujá*

and all his family miserably perished in Arakán ; and Mír Júmlah, after a great campaign, in which he overran Koch Bihár and Assam, died at Dacca.

Aurangzeb was incessantly at war in the Deccan, either fighting with the Mahratta Sivaji (*see* Chap. XVI.), or engaged in the conquest of Bījápúr and Golkondah, as narrated in § 1. He also had to encounter some serious insurrections of the Rájputs (*see* Chap. XIII. § 6), towards whom, as towards all his Hindu subjects, he displayed the most furious intolerance and bigotry.

NOTE.—Amongst other acts of bigotry Aurangzeb revived the *Jiziah*, which had been abolished by Akbar. The *Jiziah* was a poll-tax, levied on every person who was not a Muhammadan. It had been an instrument of great oppression by some of the Pathán Sultáns, and was detested by all Hindus.

In the course of one of these Rájput rebellions his favourite son, Prince Akbar, joined the rebels, and endeavoured to seize the Mughul throne ; but Aurangzeb, though a very old man, successfully met this new danger, and the young Akbar ultimately died as an exile in Persia.

During this reign the English and French settlements (as we shall see in Chap. XVIII.) were rapidly rising into importance.

Under Aurangzeb the Mughul power attained its greatest splendour and its widest extension ; by the time of his death it was rapidly falling into decay. Pure and even austere in his private life, and a rigid Muhammadan, he is generally regarded by Musalmán historians as the greatest of the Mughul dynasty—greater even than Akbar. In general ability, in resolution, in energy he was fully Akbar's equal. Like that illustrious monarch, he was just and laborious ; but in almost every other respect his character is almost the reverse of that of Akbar. Both were masters of policy ; but Aurangzeb always *preferred* a crooked policy—to attain his ends by stratagem or trickery. Akbar was perfectly liberal and tolerant, generous to all men, and specially merciful to a fallen enemy ; Aurangzeb

was a bigot and a persecutor, suspicious of all men, cruel to the conquered, and ready to avail himself of every mean advantage. His universal mistrust destroyed his own happiness, impaired the success of every undertaking, and undermined the empire. His heir Muazzam once incurred his unjust suspicions, and was imprisoned for six years, from 1687 to 1694. The contrast between the characters of Akbar and Aurangzeb is best exhibited by their treatment of the Hindus, and specially of the Rájputs. We have seen that Akbar converted the Rájputs from enemies into the most loyal supporters of his throne, whilst Aurangzeb caused them to detest him. He even made it difficult to carry on the administration of the empire, by ordering that no Hindus should be employed as public servants; and he insisted on exacting the *jiziah* not only in Hindustan, but even in the Deccan. The consequence of all this was that most of his Hindu subjects were in heart allies of the Mahrattas; and to this cause may be ascribed, mainly, the rapid decay of the empire.

CHAPTER XV.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE MUGHUL EMPIRE.

§ 1. The Successors of Aurangzeb. § 2. The Sikhs. § 3. The Provinces become independent of Delhi. § 4. The Invasion of Nádir Sháh, the Persian. § 5. The Invasions of Ahmad Sháh Abdálí, the Afghán. § 6. Sháh Alam II. and the last of the family of Tímúr.

§ 1. *The Successors of Aurangzeb.*—At the death of Aurangzeb there was the usual contest amongst his sons; and finally the eldest, Muazzam, slew his two brothers, and succeeded to the throne with the title of *Bahádúr Sháh*. He reigned six years. He owed his success mainly to a powerful nobleman named Zulfikár Khán; and the same nobleman also secured the succession of the next emperor, *Jahándúr Sháh*, who obtained the throne on the death of Bahádúr. Zulfikár was the *vazír* of the Emperor Jahándár

Sháh, and possessed more real power than his master. Jahándár and his vazír had taken care to slaughter all the other sons and relations of Bahádúr on whom they could lay their hands; but *Farrukh Siyar*, a grandson of the Emperor Bahádúr, had succeeded his father in the government of Bengal, and had been able to escape the murdering hands of Jahándár. The latter had hardly reigned twelve months when Farrukh Siyar induced two powerful nobles to help him with a large body of troops, and he defeated Jahándár in a great battle near Agra, and put him to death, together with the vazír Zulfikár. The two nobles who made Farrukh Siyar emperor were the Sayyid Husain Alí, Governor of Bihár, and his brother, Sayyid Abdullah, Governor of Allahabad. For several years they possessed all power in the realm. When they found that Farrukh Siyar, after reigning in this way about six years, was inclined to diminish their authority, they assassinated him, and set on the throne three emperors, one after another, who reigned in quick succession—the two former ones, named Rafi-ud-daraját and Rafi-ud-daulah, dying after short reigns of two or three months each, in the year 1719. The third emperor nominated by the Sayyids was called Raushanakhtar, and he assumed the imperial title of *Muhammad Sháh*. Shortly after his accession the Sayyids were overthrown and slain by a combination of other nobles; the battle which finally destroyed their power was fought at *Sháhpur*, between Delhi and Agra. These Sayyids, Husain Alí and Abdullah, are often called ‘the king-makers.’

It will be seen from the above short account that the six Mughul emperors who followed Aurangzeb were all set up in turn by great noblemen, the first two by *Zulfikár Khán*, the last four by the *Sayyids*. Consequently these noblemen were far more powerful than the emperors themselves. All the other great nobles of the empire began to hope in like manner to elevate themselves to royal power; so that before the death of Muhammad Sháh (who reigned

from 1719 to 1748 A.D.) all the more distant provinces had assumed independence, and the authority of the emperors became almost nominal. By far the most important power that arose in this way during this period was that of the Mahrattas, who soon became the leading power in India. An account of their origin will be given in the next chapter.

§ 2. **The Sikhs.**—The Sikhs were originally an inoffensive religious sect; but the fierce persecution of Aurangzeb and his successor Bahádúr Sháh changed them into a formidable military confederation. The sect was founded by Nának in the time of Bábar. He went about preaching a form of religion briefly described in our *Introduction*, § 87, and collected a large number of *Sikhs* or *disciples* (for that is the meaning of the word *Sikh*). In the seventeenth century their tenth *Guru*, or spiritual leader, named *Guru Govind Singh*, who was a man of ambitious and warlike temper, completed their military organisation. He was slain by a private enemy, and his relatives and followers were visited with every kind of cruelty. Their *Guru* in the time of Bahádúr Sháh, Jahándár, and Farrukh Siyar was called *Banda*. During the reign of Bahádúr Sháh their hatred to the Musalmáns, inflamed by long persecution, broke out into fearful atrocities. The emperor marched against them, and spent the last five years of his life in a Sikh war. They soon resumed their retaliations on the Muhammadans; but in the reign of Farrukh Siyar, Banda and a large number of his followers were captured, and executed with the most inhuman barbarities. The Sikhs met torture and death with the most heroic courage, disdaining to a man to purchase life by renouncing their faith. They were nearly extirpated by Farrukh Siyar; but before the end of the century they again became a great power (*see* the life of Ranjít Singh, Chap. XXV. § 3).

§ 3. **The Provinces Independent.**—Besides the MAHRATTAS, the chief provinces that obtained independence about this time were *Rájputána*, the *Deccan*, *Oudh*, and *Bengal*.

Jeswant Singh, Ráná of Jodhpur or Marwár, had been a mighty prince during the reign of Aurangzeb. The insurrection of the Rájputs against Aurangzeb (see Chap. XIV. § 6) had been mainly to avenge the wrongs of *Jeswant's* children; and the most important provision of the peace was, that *Ajít Singh*, his eldest son, should be restored to the throne of Marwár on the attainment of his majority. After the death of Aurangzeb, the three great Rájput States of Maiwár, Marwár, and Jaipur formed a triple alliance with the view of asserting their independence; and though this confederation was often broken up by internal feuds, it served to maintain the Rájput power until the country was overwhelmed by the wave of Mahratta conquest. *Ajít Singh* turned out a wise and powerful ruler, and the Emperor Farrukh Siyar was glad to make peace with him by marrying his daughter. From Muhammad Sháh, *Ajít Singh* obtained the acknowledgment of his independence; and from this time the Rájputs ceased to have any close dependence on the Mughul Empire. Shortly after the death of Muhammad Sháh, the Mahratta armies established themselves in Ajmer, in 1756 A.D.; and from this time till the establishment of the English supremacy, nearly fifty years later, Rájputána incessantly suffered from Mahratta violence and oppression.

Nizám-ul-mulk, Súbahdár of the Deccan under Farrukh Siyar, was the head of the confederacy of nobles which overthrew the Sayyids in the battle of Sháhpur, in 1720 (see § 1). He then made himself vazír of the Emperor Muhammad Sháh, but subsequently returned to his Súbah of the Deccan, which became from this time independent (see Chap. XIX. § 1). He was the ancestor of the present Nizám of Haidarábád.

The chief confederate of Nizám-ul-mulk in his opposition to the Sayyids was *Saádat Khán*, who had originally been a Persian merchant, and who had risen to be Súbahdár of Oudh. *Saádat Khán* made himself independent in Oudh, and his descendants were Kings of Oudh until that

country was annexed to the British Indian Empire in 1856.

Bengal, too, became virtually independent in Muhammad Sháh's time. *Shujá-ul-dín*, the last Súbahdár nominated by the Mughul emperor, died whilst Nádir Sháh was in Delhi; and his son was set aside by the famous *Alí Virdí Khán*, one of the Umarás of the Court, who possessed much ability and experience. Muhammad Sháh afterwards confirmed him in his usurped dominion, but Alí Virdí was really independent.

§ 4. *The Invasion of Nádir Sháh.*—The ruin of the Mughul empire was hastened by two terrible foreign invasions during the reign of Muhammad Sháh. In the midst of the difficulties caused by the increasing power of the Mahrattas the terrible *Nádir Sháh* of Persia swept down on the hapless Mughul emperor.

This famous warrior, originally a shepherd on the shores on the Caspian Sea, had delivered Persia from the oppression of Afghán invaders, and had usurped the Persian throne. In retaliation for the Afghán invasion he had conquered Herat and Kandahár; and now, on the pretext that the Mughuls had sheltered some of his Afghán enemies, had advanced on Kábul, and thence to the Indus, which he crossed in November 1738. The emperor had underrated the power of Nádir's force, and there are also suspicions of treachery on the part of the great commanders, Asaf Jáh (the Nizám) and Saádat Khán. Hence the invader met with no resistance till he was within one hundred miles of Delhi. Here, at KARNAL, he met and utterly routed the Indian army; and Muhammad had no resource but to give himself up as a prisoner, and he entered Delhi in the train of the conqueror. At first Nádir behaved with great courtesy towards his captive, and appeared inclined to spare the vanquished people; but enraged by some risings of the inhabitants of Delhi, in which many Persians were slain, he at length gave orders for an indiscriminate massacre, which lasted for nearly a whole day. Shortly after-

wards, laden with an immense booty (which included the celebrated peacock throne of Sháh Jahán) he left Delhi and returned home, having first reinstated Muhammad on the throne, and having sent messengers to the chief Indian potentates (including the Mahrattas) to threaten them with his vengeance if they did not obey the emperor.

§ 5. The Invasions of Ahmad Sháh Abdálí.—The three successors of Muhammad Sháh as Emperors of Delhi were *Ahmad Sháh*, *Alamgír* (called Alamgír II., to distinguish him from Aurangzeb, who was also called Alamgír), and *Sháh Alam* (called Sháh Alam II., to distinguish him from Bahádúr Sháh, who was also called Sháh Alam). What little shadow of the old Mughul power which had belonged to Muhammad Sháh was entirely lost during these reigns, and the successors of Sháh Alam II. were only emperors in name, and were really pensioners of the British Government.

The horrors of the invasion of Nádir Sháh were repeated no less than six times during these reigns by *Ahmad Sháh Abdálí*. He was the chief of the Afghán tribe called Abdálí or Durání, which is still a powerful clan in Afghánistán; he had been Nádir's treasurer, and had seized all his money, together with the kingdom of Kandahár, when his master was assassinated in 1747. He immediately marched against Delhi at the head of a strong Afghán army; but in this first invasion he was driven back by the skill and valour of Prince Ahmad (afterwards the Emperor Ahmad Sháh) and the Vazír Kamar-ud-dín, in the great battle of SIRHIND. This defeat of the Afgháns was the last exploit of the Mughul arms, and imparted some glory to the concluding year of the reign of Muhammad Sháh. But in the following year the Abdálí chief returned to India, and extorted from his namesake, the Emperor Ahmad Sháh, the cession of the Punjab, which from this time (1748) was severed from the Delhi empire, forming at first a part of the Durání kingdom, and subsequently the headquarters of the Sikh kingdom of Ranjít Singh. Gházi-ud-din, a

turbulent man, who was grandson of the old Nizám-ul-mulk (*see* § 3), and vazír of the Emperor Alamgír II., endeavoured to retake the province in 1757; and this provoked the third invasion of Ahmad Sháh Abdáli, who now sacked Delhi, appointed a Rohilla Afghán named *Nazib-ud-daulah* as vazír, and then returned to Kandahár.

Nazib-ud-daulah was soon afterwards expelled by Gházi-ud-dín with the aid of the Mahrattas, and the Mahratta Raghoba forthwith invaded the Punjab (*see* Chap. XVII). The result of this encroachment of the Mahrattas was the fourth and most terrible invasion of Hindustan by Ahmad Sháh, who again occupied Delhi, and almost destroyed the Mahratta power in the crushing victory of Pánipat (the third battle of Pánipat, described in the account of the Mahratta Peshwás, Chap. XVII. § 5).

§ 6. Sháh Alam II. and the last of the House of Tímúr.—Whilst the Afghán king was crushing the Mahrattas at Pánipat, Sháh Alam was vainly opposing the English in Bihár (*see* Chap. XXI.). At last he consented to become a pensioner of the British Government, and resided for some years peaceably in Allahábád. Subsequently, however, the Mahrattas persuaded him to join them, in 1771, in driving out Zábítah Khán, the son and successor of the Afghán Nazib-ud-daulah, from Delhi. They were successful; and from this time until the British conquest in 1803 the Mahrattas were supreme in Delhi. Only for a short interval, in 1788, did the Afghán or Musalmán party regain their hold of the city and of the emperor's person; and the Afghán chief, a wretch named Ghulám Kádir, son of Zábítah Khán and grandson of Nazib-ud-daulah, on this occasion struck out the eyes of the poor old emperor with his dagger, having previously tortured his sons and grandsons in his presence. The Mahrattas soon came up and delivered the poor blind old man from his inhuman persecutor; but he remained in extreme poverty and neglect until, in 1803, he was rescued from the Mahrattas by the British under Lord Lake, in the course of the *Second*

Mahratta War. He was then granted a pension by the English, and the sceptre of Hindustan passed into the hands of the British Government. Retribution fell on Ghulám Kádir; for, falling into the hands of the Mahratta chief Sindia, he was horribly tortured and mutilated, and at length his head was sent to be laid at the feet of the old emperor whom he had treated so cruelly. One of the grandsons of Sháh Alam, who had been tortured by Ghulám Kádir, was that Muhammad Bahádúr who, in 1857, joined the Sepoy mutineers, and permitted, if he did not instigate, similar atrocities in the same place in Delhi, perpetrated on innocent English prisoners; and who paid the penalty of his crimes by dying as a prisoner in a distant land beyond the sea.

CHAPTER XVI.

SIVAJI AND THE RISE OF THE MAHRATTAS.

§ 1. Maháráshtra. § 2. The Rise of Sivaji. § 3. The Murder of Afzal Khán. § 4. Wars with Aurangzeb. § 5. Sivaji's Prosperity. § 6. His Death and Character.

§ 1. *Maháráshtra.*—Having traced the broad outline of the history of the Mughul empire to its fall, we must now revert to the period of the rise of the Mahratta power—the power which chiefly contributed to the downfall of the Mughuls, and which for a short time seemed likely to take their place as paramount in India.

The country of the Mahrattas, formerly called Maháráshtra, included all the southern portion of the Bombay Presidency, with the Barárs and large portions of the Central Provinces, of the Central India Agency, and of the dominions of the Nizám of Haidarábád. It was bounded on the north by the Sátpurá Mountains and on the west by the sea; and extended eastward beyond Nággpur, in the Central Provinces.

The Mahratta Hindus had in early times long fought against the Musalmán invaders, but they were conquered

long before the fall of the Pathán dynasty of Delhi; and from the time of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb part of the Mahratta nation was subject to the Mughul emperor, and the rest to the Muhammadan kings of Ahmadnagar and Bijápur.

§ 2. **The Rise of Sivaji.**—Sivaji, the great founder of Mahratta power, was born at the fort of Saoner in the year 1627 A.D.—the year of the death of Jahángir and accession of Sháh Jahán. He belonged to a respectable family of Rújput descent, named Bhonslé. His father was Sháhji, who was at first an officer under Malik Ambar, of Ahmadnagar, and afterwards entered the army of the king of Bijápur, and fought for Bijápur against Mahábat Khán and the armies of Sháh Jahán. The story went that a goddess appeared to Sháhji, and predicted that one of his family would become a king, and would restore Hindu customs, protect Bráhmans and kine, and be the first of a line of twenty-seven rulers of the land.

Sivaji was early taught all that it was considered necessary for a Mahratta chieftain to know, but he never could write his name. He was brought up a zealous Hindu, thoroughly versed in the mythological and legendary stories current among his countrymen. His hatred of Muhammadans prepared him for a life of incessant hostility to Aurangzeb and the Muhammadan powers of the Deccan. At the age of nineteen he was already so far an adept in the art of guerilla warfare as to be able to make himself master of the hill-fort of Tornea, twenty miles south-west of Poona. He found a large treasure in the ruins near this fort, which he spent in building another, which he called Raigarh.

His success emboldened him; and he now in quick succession got into his power the fortresses of Singharh, Supa, and Púrandhar. All this time he tried to lull the suspicions of the King of Bijápur, Muhammad Adil Sháh; but at length Muhammad's anger and fears were roused by Sivaji's continued success. The Bijápur king sent for

Sivaji's father, Sháhji, and built him up in a stone dungeon, leaving only a small aperture, which was to be closed if in a fixed time Sivaji did not surrender himself. Sivaji thereupon entered into correspondence with Sháh Jahán, who by his artful representations was induced to intercede with the King of Bijápur for Sháhji's release. The emperor also gave Sivaji the command of 5,000 horse.

§ 3. **The Murder of Afzal Khán.**—In 1659 the Bijápur authorities made an attempt to crush Sivaji, which he rendered unsuccessful by an act of treachery celebrated in Mahratta history. He enticed their commander, Afzal Khán, to a conference; and in the customary embrace he struck a *wagnakh* (a steel instrument with three crooked blades, like the claws of a tiger), which he had secreted for the purpose, into the bowels of his unfortunate enemy, and quickly despatched him with a *bichwa*, or scorpion-shaped dagger. The Bijápur troops, disheartened at the loss of their general, were cut to pieces or made prisoners. The decisive advantage gained by this act of detestable treachery greatly benefited Sivaji's position, and many successful campaigns followed.

§ 4. **Wars with Aurangzeb.**—In 1662 Shaista Khán was the Mughul viceroy of the Dakhin; and Sivaji, at peace with Bijápur, attacked the Mughuls, and ravaged the country to Aurangabad, where the viceroy lived. Shaista Khán marched southward, and took up his abode in Poona, in the very house where Sivaji was brought up. Sivaji now performed one of those exploits which more than anything else make his name famous among his countrymen. With a part of his men at nightfall he slipped unperceived into the city, mingled with a marriage procession, passed through the out-offices of the well-known house, and almost surprised the Khán in his bedchamber. The Mughul escaped with the loss of two fingers; but his son and attendants were slain. Sivaji made off, and ascended his hill-fort of Singhgarh (twelve miles off) amidst a blaze of torches. If this adventure did nothing else, it inspired

his men, and taught them to despise the Mughuls. His next exploit was the sack of Súrat; the English factory alone escaping by the determined valour of its defenders. This was particularly offensive to Aurangzeb, as pilgrims to Mecca embarked from Súrat, hence called Bab-ul-Makkah, *the gate of Mecca*. Sivaji, in 1664, assumed the title of Rájá, and began to coin money. He also collected a fleet of eighty-five ships, sailed down the coast, and plundered the adjacent country. He even attacked some vessels conveying pilgrims to Mecca, and thus doubly roused the indignation of Aurangzeb, ever the champion of the Muhammadan faith.

1664.

The emperor now sent a formidable army under Mírza Rájá, a gallant officer, to chastise Sivaji. The latter lost one fort after another, and at length was cooped up in his strong castle of Púrandhar, and compelled to come to terms with the emperor. By the agreement of PÚRANDHAR he surrendered twenty of his forts, retaining twelve as a *jágír* or fief of the empire. His son, Sambaji, was to become a commander of 5,000 horse in the Mughul army. He was also to have certain assignments of revenues, called *chauth* (or *the fourth*), and *sirdeshmulki* (equivalent to 10 per cent.), on some districts of Bijápur. This was the ground for the ill-defined claims of the Mahrattas in aftertimes to plunder and extort tribute from the inhabitants of every province of the empire. Sivaji now joined the imperial army, and so distinguished himself in the invasion of Bijápur that the emperor wrote him a complimentary letter and invited him to Delhi. Sivaji, accordingly, in March 1666, with his son, set out for the Court. Aurangzeb received him haughtily; and Sivaji, finding himself slighted and in fact a prisoner, contrived to escape with Sambaji, and reached his fortress of Raigarh in safety. Thus did the emperor foolishly lose an opportunity of converting an enemy into a firm friend and vassal. Sivaji now openly for a time resumed his old attitude of defiance; but soon, through the intercession of Jeswant Singh,

obtained most favourable terms from Aurangzeb, and in fact was left in perfect independence, though doubtless this was done with the intention of crushing him when an opportunity should present itself.

§ 5. **Sivaji's prosperity.**—In 1674 Sivaji was solemnly enthroned at Raigarh. He was then weighed against gold, and the sum, 16,000 pagodas, given to Bráhmans. From that time he assumed the most high-sounding titles, and maintained more than royal dignity in all his actions.

His kingdom was now both extensive and powerful, and the extraordinary faculty which the Mahrattas always possessed for plundering made him also a very rich monarch. In 1676 he still further extended his influence and empire by a very successful expedition into the Carnatic. His latter days were much embittered by the bad conduct of his son, Sambaji, who was a youth of violent temper and unrestrained passions, and who actually, at one time, deserted to the camp of the Mughul general because his father had punished him for some outrageous conduct.

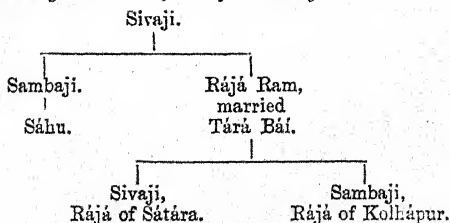
§ 6. **His death and character.**—Sivaji died at Raigarh, of fever, brought on by a swelling in his knee-joint, on April 5, 1680. He was a daring soldier, a skilful general, and an able statesman. Though the predatory warfare which he carried on necessarily caused dreadful sufferings, he was always anxious to mitigate those sufferings as far as possible. In order to gain his ends he was sometimes guilty, as in the murder of Afzal Khán, of the utmost cruelty and treachery. But he was never wantonly cruel, and it was possibly remorse for his crimes that caused the religious zeal, which he had always manifested, to degenerate in his old age into superstition and austerity. This religious zeal had the effect of infusing into the Mahrattas an intense national enthusiasm, which attached to their cause all those Hindu subjects of Delhi who were discontented with their Muhammadan masters.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PROGRESS AND DECLINE OF THE MAHRATTA POWER.

§ 1. Báláji Viswánáth, the First Peshwá. § 2. Báji Ráo, the Second Peshwá. § 3. The Mahratta Confederacy. § 4. Báláji Báji Ráo, the Third Peshwá. § 5. The Third Battle of Pá nipat. § 6. Madhu Ráo, Fourth Peshwá. § 7. Náráyana Ráo, Fifth Peshwá. § 8. Madhu Ráo Náráyana, Sixth Peshwá; and the First Mahratta War. § 9. The Battle of Kurdlá. § 10. Báji Ráo II, the last of the Peshwás; and the Second Mahratta War. § 11. The Third Mahratta War. § 12. Causes of the Downfall of the Mahratta Power.

§ 1. Báláji Viswánáth, the First Peshwá.—The short reign of *Sambaji*, the son of *Sivaji*, was entirely taken up with wars against the Portuguese (*see* Chap. XVIII.) and the Mughuls, and he was at length taken prisoner by Aurangzeb, and put to a cruel death. *Sivaji*'s grandson, a boy of six, was at the same time captured, and kept a prisoner for years amongst the Mughuls. He is generally known by the nickname *Sáhu* (thief), given him by Aurangzeb, and the result of his education at the Mughul Court was that he became indolent and luxurious. When he was at length liberated after the death of Aurangzeb, he willingly professed himself a vassal of the Mughul empire, and left all the government of the Mahratta kingdom to his minister, *Báláji Viswánáth*.

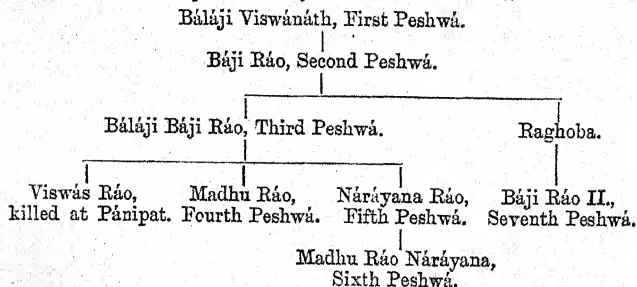
Genealogical Table of *Sivaji*'s Family.

Báláji Viswánáth was a wise and able Bráhmaṇ who was taken into Sáhu's service about the year 1712, and made *Peshwá* or minister, an office which his ability soon made paramount even over the kingly one, and which he was able to make hereditary in his family. From this time the succession of Mahratta Rájás, descendants of Sivaji, is of less historical importance than that of their so-called prime ministers, the Peshwás, who were the real heads of the Mahratta power.

In 1718 the dissensions between the Sayyids and Nizám-ul-mulk, which ended in the battle of Sháhpur (*see* Chap. XV. § 1) enabled the Peshwá to interfere in the affairs of Delhi. He marched an army to Delhi to help the Sayyid Husain, and in 1720 obtained from him a treaty granting the Mahrattas the *chaṭh* or fourth part of the revenues of the Deccan, the *sirdeshmukhí* (*see* Chap. XVI. § 4), and the *swáráji* (absolute control) of the districts between Poona and Sátára.

§ 2. *Báji Ráo, the Second Peshwá.*—*Báláji* died shortly after this treaty, and was succeeded by his eldest son, *Báji Ráo*, who was the greatest and ablest of all the Peshwás. Before 1736 he had conquered, from the Mughuls, the whole of Málwa and the territory between the Narbadá and the Chambal; and in that year he forced the Nizám-ul-mulk, who had marched from the Deccan to help the em-

Genealogical Table of the Mahratta Peshwás.



peror, to sign a convention by which all these territories were granted to him, and fifty lakhs of rupees promised as compensation for the expenses of the war.

Báji Ráo was also eminently successful in a great war against the Portuguese settlements on the west coast; and in May 1739 the Mahratta army took Bassein by storm from the Portuguese. The Peshwá after this aspired to conquer the whole Deccan, and attacked the Nizám's dominions; but he was obliged shortly afterwards to make peace, and he died in 1740.

§ 3. *The Mahratta Confederacy.*—The period of the third Peshwá may be regarded as that of the greatest Mahratta prosperity and power; and yet the confederacy was already showing symptoms of that disunion which ultimately destroyed it—for it was no longer completely under the rule either of the descendants of Sivaji (who, as we have seen, had long ceased to have any real power) or of the Peshwá. The Mahratta power was at this time strictly a confederacy of independent princes, who only obeyed the Peshwá when the latter was able to enforce his orders. Here is a list of the most important of these princes:—

(1) and (2). *Sáhu*, the rightful representative of Sivaji as Rájá of the Mahrattas, reigning as Rájá of *Sátúra*; and *Sambaji*, another descendant of Sivaji, who had established himself as Rájá of Kolhápur in opposition to Sáhu. The power of these two princes was never great.

(3). *Sindia*, who established himself in the north-east of Málwa. The descendants of this chieftain have generally been the most powerful of the Mahrattas. They all have borne the name Sindia; and though they were frequently at war with the English in the early times of which we are now speaking and a little later, yet in recent times the Mahárájá Sindia of Gwalior has been one of the most loyal feudatories of the British Indian empire.

(4). *Malhár Ráo Holkár*, who established himself as Rájá of *Indore* in Málwa. The successors of this chief-

tain have always borne the name of Holkár, and have often been the rivals of the Sindia dynasty as the leaders of the Mahrattas.

(5). Raghují *Bhonslé* was Rájá of Barár. The Bhonslé dynasty subsequently extended their power to the Bay of Bengal, by conquering Katak and nearly the whole of Orissa from the Nawáb of Bengal. These eastern territories were taken from them by the English in the Second Mahratta War of 1803 (*see* § 10); and ultimately the dominions of the last Rájá of Barár were annexed by Lord Dalhousie in 1853.

(6). Damaji *Gaikwár* was Rájá of Baroda in Gujarát; and his descendants, who have always borne the title of Gaikwár, are still reigning in Gujarát as feudatories of the British Indian empire.

Besides all these there was of course the *Peshwá*, whose court from this time was held at *Poona*, and who was regarded as the head of the whole confederacy.

§ 4. *Báláji Báji Ráo*, Third *Peshwá*.—The eldest son of Báji Ráo was *Báláji Báji Ráo*, and succeeded as Third *Peshwá*; the younger son was called Raghoba. *Báláji Báji Ráo* reigned from 1740 to 1761, a period full of important events, of which we can here only speak of the three most important. These were two great wars against the Mughuls under the Nizám of Haidarábád; and the disastrous conflict with Ahmad Sháh Abdálí, the Afghán invader (*see* Chap. XV. § 5).

The first war against the Nizám of Haidarábád, *Salábat Jang*, was in 1751–52. The *Peshwá* was defeated at *RÁJÁPÚR* by the French allies of *Salábat*, under the celebrated *Bussy* (*see* Chap. XIX. § 2); but before the end of the year he obtained a large cession of territory from the Nizám.

The second war occurred in 1760. The *Peshwá* had obtained possession of Ahmadnagar; so the Nizám, *Salábat Jang*, marched against him. The result was a complete victory for the *Peshwá*, at the great battle of *UDGÍR*; and

the Nizám was now compelled to cede to the Mahrattas all the north-western portions of his dominions.

The conflict with Ahmad Sháh Abdálí must be narrated in the next section.

§ 5. **The Third Battle of Pánipat.**—In 1758 Raghoba, the brother of the Peshwá, foolishly invaded the Punjab, which formed a part of the dominions taken from the Mughul emperor by the Afghan king, Ahmad Sháh Abdálí. A Rohilla chief named Nazib-ud-daulah, who had been left by Ahmad Sháh Abdálí in Delhi, together with the Muhammadan Nawáb of Oudh, now took up arms against the Mahrattas; and the Abdálí King of Kándahár himself immediately made his most terrible invasion of India. The Peshwá was engaged (*see* last section) in conquering the Nizám; so the Afgháns were first opposed only by Holkár and Sindia, whose troops were twice totally defeated and cut up by them.

At last Viswás Ráo, the son of the Peshwá, and Sivadás Ráo Bháo (commonly called 'the Bháo'), cousin of the Peshwá, and one of the best Mahratta generals, marched northward to recover the lost reputation of the Mahrattas, and to drive the Afgháns out of India. All the Mahratta chiefs were ordered to join; and the total number of Mahratta troops assembled was 55,000 horse, 15,000 foot, and about 200,000 Pindáris and followers. They had also 200 pieces of cannon. The Afgháns, with some Muhammadan allies, had 46,800 horse, 38,000 foot, and 70 pieces of cannon. From October 28 to January 6, 1761, continual skirmishes took place; but the Abdálí steadily refused a general engagement. The improvident Mahrattas were without provisions or money, and were in fact closely besieged.

The Muhammadan prince, Shujá-ud-daulah of Oudh, had been endeavouring to effect an accommodation between the invaders and the Mahrattas; but Ahmad Sháh knew his own strength and the distressed condition of the enemy, and was disinclined to come to terms. At length, on January

7, 1761, Sivadáś Ráo wrote a note to Shujá-ud-daulah, saying, 'The cup is now full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop;' and the whole Mahratta army, prepared to conquer or die, marched out to attack the Afghán camp. From daybreak till 2 P.M. the rival cries of 'Har, Har, Madeo' and 'dín, dín,' resounded. The Afgháns were physically stronger; and in this terrible struggle their powers of endurance at last prevailed against the fierce enthusiasm of the Mahrattas. By 2 P.M. Viswás Ráo was killed. In despair Sivadáśa Ráo descended from his elephant, mounted his horse, and charged into the thickest of the fight. He was seen no more. Holkár left the field early, not without some imputation of treachery. Thousands perished in the fight, and the remainder were surrounded, taken prisoners, and cruelly beheaded the next morning. From the time of the fatal field of Fathpur Sikri, when the Rájput chivalry of Sangá went down before the fiery onset of Bábar's veterans, no such signal reverse had fallen on the Hindu race. The Peshwá died shortly after he received the news of this battle, by which the Mahratta hopes of supremacy in India were greatly diminished, if not destroyed.

§ 6. **Madhu Ráo, Fourth Peshwá.**—*Madhu Ráo*, the bravest of all the Peshwás, succeeded his father Báláji Báji when he was only seventeen years of age. His uncle *Raghoba*, an ambitious and intriguing man, was his guardian; whilst his tutor and spiritual guide was a Mahratta Bráhmaṇ named Rám Sástri. This Bráhmaṇ was profoundly learned, and a pattern of integrity and prudence; he reproved all wrong-doers, however high their rank, and awed the most dissolute; he was distinguished by the most extraordinary industry, zeal, and benevolence, and his memory is still revered by the Mahrattas. Madhu Ráo's reign was mainly occupied with wars (in which he was generally successful) against the Nizám of Haidarábád, the Rájá of Barár, and the newly risen Sultán of Mysore named Haidar Ali (*see* Chap. XX. § 4).

A bright example of a good and virtuous female ruler is afforded by the Queen of the *Indore* (or *Holkár*) branch of the Mahrattas, who was called *Ahalyá Báí*. Old Malhár Ráo Holkár died in 1766, having for forty-two years been one of the bravest and most indomitable spirits amongst the Mahrattas; and as his only son had died before him, and his only grandson died very soon afterwards, the son's widow succeeded as Mahárání, and remained so until her death in 1795. She was one of the most extraordinary women that ever lived. She adopted, by consent of the Peshwá, an experienced soldier called *Takaji Holkár*, who was no relation to the family. He assumed command of the army, and one of his descendants still rules in Indor. Takaji always paid to Ahalyá Báí filial reverence. She ruled, while he was commander-in-chief. She was devout, merciful, and laborious to an extraordinary degree, and raised Indor from a village to a wealthy city. She was well-educated, and possessed of a remarkably acute mind. She became a widow when she was twenty years old, and her son died a raving maniac, soon after. These things affected her whole life. In one thing she far excelled even the renowned English Queen Elizabeth—she was insensible to flattery. While living, she was 'one of the purest and most exemplary rulers that ever lived'; and she is now sometimes worshipped in Málwa as an incarnation of the deity.

§ 7. *Naráyana Ráo, Fifth Peshwá*.—Madhu Ráo, dying at an early age in 1772, was succeeded by his younger brother, named *Naráyana Ráo*; but this unfortunate youth was assassinated by some conspirators who were incited to do the wicked deed by Ananda Báí, the wicked wife of Raghoba, the Peshwá's uncle and guardian. Meanwhile the Mahratta arms had once more overrun Hindustan, occupied Delhi, and got the Emperor Sháh Alam II. completely into their power. One of the chief ministers of the Peshwá's Court at this time was the famous *Náná Farnavis* a clever statesman.

After the murder of Náráyana Ráo, Raghoba declared himself sixth Peshwá; but his hopes were frustrated by the birth of a posthumous son of Náráyana, and by the combination against him of Náná Farnavis and all the other great Mahratta leaders, 1774.

§ 8. **Madhu Ráo Náráyana, Sixth Peshwá; and the First Mahratta War.**—Madhu Ráo Náráyana was the posthumous son of Náráyana Ráo; but Raghoba professed to think him an imposter, and induced the English to favour his own claims to the dignity of Peshwá. The English Government, which was now under Warren Hastings (*see* Chap. XXII.), at first refused to help Raghoba; but finding that his opponent Náná Farnavis was intriguing with the French, they at length consented to do so, and the fighting that ensued is called the First Mahratta War. This war was undertaken by the English at a time very unfortunate for them; for they were immediately attacked by Haidar Alí, Sultán of Mysore, and by the Nizám, as well as by Sindia and the other Mahrattas.

The most important events of the war were—

(1). The famous march of *Colonel Goddard* and a small body of English troops from Calcutta, right across India, to Súrat, in 1779; after which he drove away the combined forces of Sindia and Holkár, and subsequently took the town of *Bassein* by storm.

(2). The *Convention of Wargám*, a treaty by which a small Bombay army purchased its escape from the Mahratta forces by which it was surrounded, 1779.

The First Mahratta War was concluded by the *Treaty of Salbái*, of which the chief stipulations were, that the French and other Europeans (except the Portuguese) should be excluded from the Mahratta dominions, and that Haidar Alí should be compelled to give up some territory he had conquered from the English, whilst the English agreed to acknowledge the infant Madhu Náráyana as Peshwá, on condition that Raghoba should be given a pension by the Mahrattas, and allowed to live where he pleased, 1782.

§ 9. **The Battle of Kurdlá.**—The chief incidents of the long minority of Madhu Ráo Náráyana were connected with the great increase of the power of *Mahádaji Sindia*, who was supreme at Delhi, and gradually became the most powerful of the Mahratta princes, and quite independent of the Peshwá. After his death in 1794, *Nánú Farnavis* (the minister of the Peshwá) was the chief ruler of the Mahrattas, and he soon began to quarrel with the Nizám of Haidarabad, because the latter had not regularly paid up the tribute which had been agreed upon after the battle of Udگیر.

War was begun in December 1794; and at KURDLÁ (March 1795) a victory was obtained by the Mahrattas, more the result of a panic among the Mughuls than of Mahratta bravery. But Nizám Ali was obliged to treat. An obnoxious minister, Maásir-ul-mulk, who had resisted the Mahratta claims, was surrendered. The young Peshwá was seen to look sad; and when asked the cause by the Nánú, he replied, 'I grieve to see such a degeneracy as there must be, on both sides, when the Mughuls can so disgracefully submit to, and our troops can vaunt so much, a victory obtained without an effort.' The young Peshwá was just twenty-one years of age. Shortly after this fortunate battle he committed suicide, 1795, in a fit of ill-temper, because he was not allowed to see his cousin Báji Ráo, the son of Raghoba, with whom he had contracted a great friendship.

§ 10. **Báji Ráo II., the last of the Peshwás; and the Second Mahratta War.**—*Báji Ráo* became Peshwá after many intrigues. Jeswant Ráo Holkár, son of Takaji Holkár (see § 6), succeeded in the same year to the throne of Indore, and after long wars against Daulat Ráo Sindia and the Peshwá, at last pressed the latter so hard that he was obliged to fly to the English for help. In 1802 Báji Ráo signed the celebrated *Treaty of Bassein*, which was the commencement of the Second Mahratta War, by which he agreed (1) to receive an English force quartered in his

dominions for their protection, and to pay twenty-six lakhs (£260,000) for its maintenance annually; (2) to receive no European of any hostile nation into his dominions; (3) to give up all claims to Surat, and to leave his disputes with the Nizám and the Gaikwár to British mediation; (4) to remain the faithful ally of England. Full protection to him and to his territories was guaranteed by the British.

On the outbreak of the Second Mahratta War, the great *Lord Wellesley* was Governor-General of India; and under him were two famous generals—his brother, *General Wellesley* (afterwards Duke of Wellington, England's greatest soldier) and *Lord Lake*. Their chief opponents were *Daulat Ráo Sindia* and *Raghují Bhonslé* of Barár.

The first great battle fought by General Wellesley was at ASSAI, on the borders of Barár and Khándesh (1803). Both Sindia and Raghují Bhonslé fled from the field, and the English gained a complete victory, though at the cost of one-third of General Wellesley's army.

Multitudes of towns and fortresses were captured by the English during the course of the war, but we need only mention two great battles, those of DELHI and LÁSWÁRÍ, won by Lord Lake. At the battle of Delhi, a French general, named *Bourquín*, was the commander of Sindia's army; he was utterly routed by Lord Lake, who now entered Delhi, and took under his protection the Emperor *Sháh Alam*, who had long been in the power of the Mahrattas (*see* Chap. XV. § 6). This was in September 1803; in November of the same year Lord Lake gained a decisive victory at Láswári over all the remaining Mahratta forces; and before the end of the year, both Sindia and the Rájá of Barár had submitted to the British arms, and had ceded a large part of their territories.

§ 11. The Third Mahratta War.—In the following year, 1804, a war broke out with the Mahrattas under *Jeswant Ráo Holkár*, who had taken no part in the former war. In this, as in the former war, a large number of

fortresses were captured by the British troops, though they experienced a check in attempting to storm the great fortress of *Bhartpur* (see Chap. XXVII.). The Rájá of *Bhartpur*, however, was forced to give up *Holkár's* alliance, and to pay 20 lakhs (£200,000) to the English; and in 1805 *Holkár* himself was driven away into the Punjab, when a peace was made. The most famous battle of this war was that of *Dío*, fought in 1804, between the English, under General Fraser and Colonel Monson, and *Holkár's* troops. The gallant General Fraser was killed, but the English won a complete victory, and captured no less than 87 cannon.

§ 12. Causes of the downfall of the Mahratta power.
—All the great Mahratta leaders had now submitted to the British arms; the remainder of their history will be briefly given in the later chapters on the Governors-General of British India. The causes of the downfall of the Mahrattas were many. *First*, excessive aggrandisement of *Sindia*, making him independent of the *Peshwá*, and, in fact, a rival to him. *Secondly*, the dissensions consequent on the death of *Naráyana Ráo*, the quarrels and rivalries of *Raghoba*, *Náná Farnavis*, *Baji Ráo II.*, *Jeswant Ráo Holkár*, and *Daulat Ráo Sindia*, completely disintegrated the confederation. *Thirdly*, the confederation had within itself elements of disunion and consequent weakness. The *Peshwá* and his councillors were *Bráhmans*; *Sindia*, *Holkár*, and *Raghuji Bhonslé* were of other castes. *Fourthly*, *Sháh Alam II.* was now in the power of the British. Under the shadow of the new paramount power, the corruption and disorder which favoured the rise of the Mahrattas cannot exist.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA.

§ 1. Discovery of the Sea-route from Europe to India. § 2. Albuquerque, the great Portuguese Viceroy of India. § 3. Extent of the Portuguese Possessions. § 4. The Dutch in India. § 5. Early English Expeditions to India. § 6. Progress of the English Settlements. § 7. The English in Bengal. § 8. Early French Settlements in India.

§ 1. **Discovery of the Sea-route from Europe to India.**—At the end of the last chapter we had traced the history of the Mahratta power down to the time of its fall. At the end of the preceding chapter we had similarly seen the extinction of the Mughul empire. We now once more revert to an early period, to follow the history of the power that was ultimately to succeed to the supremacy.

The European nations that have at various times made permanent settlement in India are the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes, the English, and the French. Of these, the Portuguese and the French have played an important part in its history, as well as the English, who ultimately became the paramount power in India. All these settlements were at first made only for purposes of trade, though the Portuguese very soon began to entertain the idea of founding an Indian empire.

During the Middle Ages, European intercourse with India was mainly carried on by the enterprise of the maritime nations inhabiting the shores of the Mediterranean, and latterly chiefly by the Venetians and Genoese, who traded with the ports of Syria and Egypt, whither Indian produce was brought through Persia or by the Red Sea. But during the fifteenth century the Portuguese became great navigators. In 1498 a great Portuguese mariner, named *Vasco da-Gama*, discovered a sea-route to India around the coast of Africa, and this put the whole trade between Europe and the East into the hands of the Portuguese, who retained it for a long time. Vasco da Gama

landed in the territories of a petty chief, named the Zamorin of Calicat, a place on the coast between Goa and Cochin, and the Portuguese settlements were at first made on this west coast, though not without opposition from the native Rájás.

§ 2. *Albuquerque*.—At length the Portuguese settlements became numerous, and the King of Portugal thought it best to appoint a Viceroy of India to govern these settlements and carry on the wars against the native kings. The second of these Portuguese viceroys was the great *Albuquerque*, who landed in 1508; and who, after having taken *Goa* (which still belongs to the Portuguese) and a great many other places, was in his old age dismissed from his office by the ungrateful King of Portugal, in 1515.

§ 3. *Extent of the Portuguese Possessions*.—The Portuguese empire in the East attained its highest power and its greatest prosperity under *Albuquerque*, whom his countrymen, though ungrateful to him in his lifetime, have unanimously styled 'the Great.' A few towns and factories were added to it during the seventy years that followed his death, but these additions were unimportant. The student must, however, remember that this empire was almost wholly a *maritime* one. The Portuguese fleets were masters of the Indian Seas, and they possessed many valuable seaports, at which they carried on an extensive trade, and which were guarded by their ships of war. These ports were scattered over an immense extent of coast, from the eastern coasts of Africa and the island of Ormuz on the west, to the Malay Peninsula and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago on the east. At the end of the sixteenth century, when their power began to decline, their most important possessions were: *Goa* and some minor ports on the west coast of India, *Ceylon*, and *Malacca*, in the Malay Peninsula. Besides these they had important settlements in *Bengal*, of which the chief were *Hooghly* and *Chittagong*, with *Diu*, in *Gujarát*, and many other places of less importance. But they never possessed more than a

few miles of territory, even in the neighbourhood of their greatest cities, and their power was usually confined strictly to the limits of their factory or trading settlement.

§ 4. *The Dutch in India.*—Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the enterprising navigators of Holland determined to try to take into their own hands some of the Indian commerce hitherto monopolised by the Portuguese; and during the following fifty years they gradually succeeded in driving the latter out of many of their settlements, and in taking from them the maritime supremacy which they had possessed on the coast of India. *Chinsurah* in Bengal was the capital of the Dutch settlements. But they soon had to meet more powerful rivals than the Portuguese; for the English had already commenced to settle in India.

§ 5. *Early English Expeditions to India.*—The first attempts of the English to reach India, like those of the Dutch, were by the north-east passage through the Arctic Seas, and the corresponding north-west passage along the northern shores of North America; and many expeditions were sent, and many lives and much treasure lost, in these fruitless expeditions.

The first English expedition that sailed for India by the direct route round the Cape of Good Hope started in 1591 under Lancaster and some others; but it degenerated into a piratical cruise, and ended disastrously, all the ships being lost or deserted successively. Notwithstanding this ill-success, the BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth in 1600. [It may here be noted that a second Company was set on foot in 1698; and the old and the new Companies were amalgamated in 1708.] Its first expedition was in 1601, again under the command of Lancaster, and was eminently successful; and was quickly followed by others.

§ 6. *Progress of the English Settlements.*—Jahāngīr in 1613 gave permission to the English to establish four factories in the Mughul dominions. The trade of the

English was established on a more secure footing by the great embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (*see* Chap. XIV. § 2); and Surat was long their chief factory.

In 1638 an English surgeon named Boughton, resident in Surat, was sent for by the Emperor Sháh Jahán to attend his sick daughter. He succeeded in curing her, and obtained from the grateful emperor important commercial privileges. By similar success in his profession, he obtained similar concessions from the Viceroy of Bengal. In 1640 they obtained the site of Madras from a brother of Rám Rájú of Bijánagar (*see* Chap. IV. § 18). It was fortified by order of King Charles I., and called Fort St. George; and in 1653 made the seat of a presidency on the Coromandel coast. Bombay was a part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, Queen of Charles II.; and in 1668 that king made it over to the East India Company, who now removed thither the presidency of the western coast, formerly at Surat.

As early as 1611 the English had traded with Masulipatam; and in 1624 they obtained permission to build a factory at Pipli near Balasor. In 1656 they built a factory at Hooghly. But in 1686, owing mainly to their violence, they were expelled from this place, as well as from Kasimbazár and Patna, and from Surat and most of their possessions (except Bombay) on the west coast, by orders of Aurangzeb. In 1696 the villages of Chuttanatti, Calcutta, and Govindpur were purchased from their owner by permission of Prince Azim-us-Shan, grandson of Aurangzeb. A fort was ordered to be built, and called Fort William in honour of King William III. The history of Calcutta to 1756 is little less than a record of the efforts of the British merchants to resist the exactions of the Nawáb of Murshidábád. In 1716 a deputation was sent to the Emperor Farrukh Siyar to secure a greater degree of protection from the native powers. They were successful, and Calcutta was thereupon declared a separate Presidency. The term *Presidency*, as applied to Surat (afterwards to Bombay),

to Madras, and to Calcutta, originally meant that the chief of each of these factories respectively was supreme also over the subordinate factories in that part of India. In 1742 the Mahrattas attacked Bengal, demanding *chauth*. It was then the Mahratta ditch was dug around Calcutta, to afford protection against a repetition of the attack.

§ 8. *Early French Settlements.*—The first expedition sent to India by the French was in 1604; but subsequently a French East India Company was formed, and in 1674 the French governor, *Martin* (the real founder of French power in India) bought *Pondicherry*, on the south-east coast, from the King of *Bijápur*. The Dutch at one time bribed the Mughul generals of the Emperor *Aurangzeb* to help them to take *Pondicherry* from the French; but it was afterwards restored, and *Martin* greatly enlarged and fortified it, and made it a great commercial city. In 1688 the French obtained from the Emperor *Aurangzeb* the settlement of *Chandernagar* on the *Hooghly*, above *Calcutta*; and subsequently they acquired several other possessions.

In 1741 the great French statesman, *Dupleix*, who had been for ten years Governor of *Chandernagar*, was appointed Governor of *Pondicherry* and Governor-General of the French possessions in India. He immediately formed the plan of expelling the English from India, and of establishing a French empire here; and an opportunity shortly offered itself of making the attempt, for a war broke out between the English and the French in Europe, which lasted from 1740 to 1748.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE WARS OF THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH IN
THE CARNATIC.

§ 1. The Commencement of the Struggle. § 2. Temporary Success of Dupleix. § 3. Clive, and the Defence of Arcot. § 4. The Battle of Wandewash, and final ruin of the French Cause.

§ 1. **The Commencement of the Struggle.**—The struggle between the English and the French in India was mainly carried on in the Carnatic, and lasted from about 1746 to the final capture of Pondicherry by the English in 1761. It commenced unfavourably for the English; for the French under *Dupleix* and another great French general called *Labourdonnais* took the town of Madras, which was the chief seat of the English in those parts, in the year 1746.

The old Nizám-ul-mulk, of whom we have already spoken several times (*see* Chap. XV. § 3, and XVII. § 2), though nominally only Mughul Súbahdár of the Deccan, had long been independent at Haidarabad. The Carnatic had also attained independence under its Nawáb; but the first independent Nawáb, Dost Alí, had been defeated and slain by the Mahrattas, and his son-in-law, Chandá Saheb, imprisoned, and in 1743 an officer of the Nizám, named *Anwar-ud-dín*, had been appointed Nawáb of the Carnatic.

Shortly after the capture of Madras, *Anwar-ud-dín* demanded that the town should be given up to him by the French, but *Dupleix* objected; and when the Nawáb sent his son with an army of 10,000 men to enforce this claim, *Dupleix* ordered one of his best officers, a brave and skilful general, named *Paradis*, to resist them. *Paradis* had under him only 230 Europeans and 700 sepoys, yet with this small force he utterly routed the Nawáb's army. This battle had very important indirect results; for it proved, both to the European leaders and to the native chiefs, that native Indian troops are little better than useless against Europeans, even when they have immense odds on their side.

Paradis was now made Governor of Madras; but a strong fleet soon arrived to help the English, and they were able, not only to drive the French out of Madras, but also to besiege them in Pondicherry. Then, in 1748, came a short peace, and all things returned to the condition in which they had been before the war.

§ 2. *Temporary Success of Dupleix.*—In 1748 the old Nizám-ul-mulk died, and there was immediately a contest for the throne of Haidarabad between *Muzaffar Jang*, grandson of the deceased Nizám, and his uncle Násir Jang, who was the Nizám's second son. Muzaffar, on finding his uncle too strong for him, went to Sátára to implore the aid of the Mahrattas; and whilst at Sátára he formed a romantic friendship with *Chandá Saheb*, who was in prison there, and who claimed to be the rightful Nawáb of the Carnatic as son-in-law of Dost Ali. The French took up the cause both of Muzaffar Jang and of Chandá Saheb; and Dupleix ransomed the latter from the Mahrattas, and immediately took the field with the united forces of Muzaffar, of Chandá, and of the French. They defeated and slew Anwar-ud-dín and his eldest son at the great battle of AMBUR, in which the famous *Bussy* was the general of the French. Muzaffar Jang was now for a short time Súbahdár of the Deccan, and Chandá Saheb was Nawáb of the Carnatic; but their triumph was not for long. The younger son of Anwar-ud-dín was *Muhammad Ali*, afterwards Nawáb of the Carnatic, and henceforward a prominent actor in this war; and he now implored the aid of the English. There was thus a triple alliance on each side;—the English siding with Násir Jang and Muhammad Ali, against the French, who sided with Muzaffar Jang and Chandá Saheb.

The war was carried on with continual changes of fortune. Násir Jang and Muzaffar Jang having each in turn secured the Súbahdárship of the Deccan, were each in turn assassinated. At last the French set up *Salábat Jang*, a younger son of the old Nizám-ul-mulk, and therefore

brother of Násir and uncle of Muzaffar; and by the aid of the intrepid French commander Bussy, Salábat managed to establish himself at Aurangábád as Súbahdár of the Decan, and to set up Chandá Saheb as Nawáb of the Carnatic, 1751 A.D.

In the course of this struggle the French troops had greatly distinguished themselves under Bussy, who had stormed the fortress of Ginji, the strongest place in the Carnatic, within twenty-four hours, 1750 A.D.

The French governor Dupleix and his brave general Bussy were now triumphant. Dupleix set up 'a pillar of victory' on the spot where he had defeated the forces of Násir Jang, and ordered a town to be built there, called Dupleix-fath-ábád, 'the town of the victory of Dupleix.' The cause of the English seemed almost desperate.

§ 3. **Clive, and the Defence of Arcot.**—When the affairs of the English were in this miserable condition, a brave and skilful young Englishman appeared on the scene, whose genius completely retrieved their fortunes.

Clive, the son of a gentleman of small property in Shropshire, was born in 1725, and landed in India as a civilian in 1743. His active and violent disposition made him unfitted for the civil service, which at that time was still chiefly engaged in commercial operations; and consequently, on the breaking out of war with the French, he had obtained a commission in the army as an ensign. He distinguished himself at the first siege of Pondicherry and at the taking of Devikottah, in 1748; and now his courage and skill rescued the English cause from almost certain ruin. Mr. Saunders was Governor of Madras; and Clive went to him, and begged to be allowed to relieve Trichinápalli by carrying the war into the enemy's own country. He determined to seize Arcot itself, the capital of the Nawáb Chandá Saheb; and having effected this with only 200 Europeans, 300 sepoy, and a few light guns, he prepared to defend the fortress against the overwhelming forces sent against him from Chandá Saheb's army that was

besieging Trichinápalli, 1751. With his little band of heroes reduced to 320 men and four officers, he made good his position for seven weeks against 10,000 men headed by Rájá Saheb, the son of Chandá Saheb. The people, seeing Clive and his men march steadily in a storm of thunder and lightning, said they were fireproof, and fled before him. The hero contemptuously refused Rájá Saheb's bribes, and laughed at his threats. When provisions failed in the besieged town, the sepoys came with a request that they might cook the rice, retaining for themselves only the water it was boiled in, handing over every grain of it to the Europeans, who required, they said, more solid food—such self-denial and heroic zeal had Clive's influence inspired in these men! Morári Ráo, the Mahratta chief of Gutti, and his 6,000 men, who were not far from Ambur, waiting to see the course of events, joined Clive, saying, 'Since the English can so nobly help themselves, we will help them.' Mr. Saunders exerted himself energetically to aid the gallant garrison; and after a desperate assault, in which he lost 400 men, Rájá Saheb raised the siege. The moral effect of this memorable defence was incalculable in firmly establishing the prestige of the English.

Clive now gained victory after victory; and in March 1752 he demolished the town of Dupleix-fath-ábád and the pillar of Dupleix, as a sign that he had demolished the French power in India.

After many struggles Chandá Saheb was slain, and the French army with forty-one guns surrendered to the English at SRIRANGAM, near Trichinápalli, in June 1752; and at length the brave and gallant Dupleix was recalled in disgrace by the ungrateful French Government, in 1754; he died in Paris ten years after, a ruined and broken-hearted man.

§ 4. **The Ruin of the French Cause.**—Although the French general Bussy was still all-powerful at Aurangábad with the Súbahdár Salábat Jang, yet the new French

governor made very large concessions to the English, and a peace was patched up; Muhammad Alí, the ally of the English, being acknowledged as Nawáb of the Carnatic. The peace, however, only lasted until 1757, and then commenced the final struggle. Clive had been appointed governor of Madras, but had been almost immediately called off to Bengal, to exact terrible retribution for the atrocities of the Black Hole. Count LALLY was sent out early in 1757 by the French Government to fight the English in the Carnatic, and was so far successful that at the end of 1758 he laid siege to Madras, but was subsequently compelled to retreat to Pondicherry.

At length, in 1759, English reinforcements arrived under Colonel Eyre Coote, who was the hero of this campaign. Lally and Bussy, with the whole French army, attacked the town of Wandewash (*Wanduwás*), and Coote instantly marched against them to relieve it. In the Battle of WANDEWASH (January 22, 1760), the French were totally routed, the heroic Bussy was taken prisoner, and all hope of establishing a French empire in India was destroyed.

In a very short time all the towns held by the French, or subject to their influence, were successively taken by Coote; and in January 1761 Pondicherry itself surrendered, and Lally was sent as a prisoner of war to Madras. He was subsequently beheaded in Paris in 1766. The French East India Company ceased to exist in 1769.

CHAPTER XX.

CLIVE, AND THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY.

§ 1. The Independent Nawábs of Bengal. § 2. The Massacre of the Black Hole. § 3. The Conquest of Bengal by Clive.

§ 1. **The Independent Nawábs of Bengal.**—Whilst the two most powerful nations of Europe, the English and the French, had been fighting in the Carnatic for the supremacy

of the Deccan, the skill and bravery of the great Clive had in the meantime obtained for the English an ascendancy in Bengal which very soon made them the paramount lords of Hindustan. The conquest of Bengal was not, however, thought of by them until a dreadful outrage perpetrated on them by the Nawáb made it necessary to inflict on him a terrible punishment by depriving him of his kingdom. This came about in the following way.

It has already been noticed that under the weak rule of the twelfth Mughul Emperor, named *Muhammad Sháh*, the great súbahs or provinces of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa became virtually independent under the powerful Nawáb *Alí Virdí Khan* (see Chap. XV. § 3). A great part of *Alí Virdí's* reign was occupied with wars against the Mahrattas, who continually invaded and devastated his dominions; and at last, in order to obtain peace for Bengal, he was obliged to give up to the Mahratta Rájá of Barár nearly the whole of Orissa.

NOTE.—The whole of Orissa south of Balasore remained in the hands of the Mahrattas until conquered by the English in the Second Mahratta War in 1803.

Alí Virdí, though he has been styled usurper, on the whole ruled wisely and well. His subjects, both Hindu and Muhammadan, increased considerably in wealth and prosperity. He exacted large sums from the English merchants who were settled at Calcutta, and was very anxious to prevent their obtaining any political power in the country; but he did his best to protect them and to encourage their trade, so they gladly paid all his demands.

In 1756 *Alí Virdí Khán* died, and was succeeded by his grandson *Siráj-ud-daulah*, a monster of cruelty and lust. He oppressed his Hindu subjects in the most atrocious manner; degrading the noblest families of Bengal by his licentiousness, impoverishing them by his extortions, and terrifying them by his inhuman oppressions.

§ 2. Massacre of the Black Hole.—Amongst many other acts of wickedness, he endeavoured to get possession

of all the wealth of the rich Hindu Governor of Dacca, who was called Rájballabh; and when Rájballabh's son *Krishna Dás* fled to Calcutta with some of his father's treasures, the Nawáb ordered the English to surrender him. The English governor refused to give up an innocent refugee, and at the same time refused to obey the Nawáb's order to demolish the fortifications of Calcutta; so Siráj-ud-daulah immediately seized and plundered the factory of the East India Company at Kásimbazár, near his capital Murshidábád, and imprisoned all the English officers whom he found there. He then marched on Calcutta, where he found the English altogether unprepared for such an attack. They tried in vain to conciliate him, but he was inexorable; and after a slight check at the Mahratta Ditch, his artillery began to bombard the fragile defences of the English, who were soon driven within the walls of the fort. They now (June 18, 1756) held some hurried and disorderly councils; the women and children were sent on board one of the vessels in the river under the charge of two high officials; and at nightfall the governor lost courage and went off to the ships in the last boat. The ships now weighed anchor and dropped down the river to Faltah, leaving the unfortunate soldiers and officers of the garrison to their fate.

The latter elected Mr. Holwell as their leader, who the following morning felt himself compelled to negotiate; and in the afternoon the Nawáb's army marched in. The Nawáb summoned Mr. Holwell to his presence, accused him of rebellion and of having concealed the treasures of the English factory, but promised him that no harm should happen to the prisoners. Notwithstanding this, the whole garrison, consisting of 146 men, were crammed into a small dungeon eighteen feet square, with very small apertures for light and air. This miserable dungeon, ever since infamous in history under the name of **THE BLACK HOLE**, had been used as a place of punishment for single individuals; and the torments now endured by the unhappy

prisoners, during a night of the hottest season of the year, were more terrible than anything that has ever been described. They endeavoured by alternate threats and bribes to induce their jailers either to put an end to their tortures by death, or to obtain better quarters from the Nawáb; but the miscreant Siráj was asleep, and the guards were (or pretended to be) afraid to wake him. At first the struggles of the victims for the places near the windows, and for the few skins of water that were handed in to them, were terrific; but the ravings of madness gradually subsided into the moans of exhaustion; and in the morning only twenty-three wretched figures, almost in the pangs of death, were extricated from a pestilential mass of dead bodies. It is uncertain whether the Nawáb was really an active accomplice in this wholesale murder; but in his anxiety to discover the treasures which he supposed the English had concealed, he took no pains to prevent it, and he evidently felt no subsequent remorse about it. He was morally responsible for it, and a terrible vengeance was justly inflicted on him.

§ 3. Conquest of Bengal by Clive.—The news of these disasters in Bengal soon arrived in Madras, and filled the settlement with consternation. But Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson were now at Madras. They were soon ready to sail to avenge the massacre in Bengal, with 900 English troops and 1,500 sepoys, all full of enthusiasm for the cause and of confidence in their leaders. Various delays, however, occurred; and they did not arrive in the river Hooghly till December 1756. And now commenced in earnest the work of retribution; Budge-budge was soon taken, Calcutta occupied, and the town of Hooghly stormed.

After the recapture of Calcutta by Clive on January 2, 1757, Siráj-ud-daulah made pressing overtures for peace, offering to reinstate the English in their former position. The honest old Admiral Watson disapproved of any accommodation with the author of the Black Hole massacre,

saying that the Nawáb should be 'well thrashed'; but Clive from political motives agreed to sign the treaty, February 9, 1757. Clive now seized the opportunity to humble the French in Bengal. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Nawáb, who aided the French with men and money, he attacked Chandernagar, and, with the aid of Admiral Watson and the fleet, he captured the town in May 1757.

Meanwhile, the Hindu subjects of the Nawáb had been goaded to desperation by his frantic excesses; and a powerful conspiracy was set on foot against him, headed by Rájá Raidurlabb, his treasurer, and Jagat Seth, the richest banker in India—joined by Mírjáfar, the Commander-in-Chief, and many discontented Muhammadans. The English, represented by Mr. Watts, the resident at Murshídábád, entered into the conspiracy with alacrity; and it was felt by Clive, and indeed by all the Council at Calcutta, that Siráj-ud-daulah must be crushed if the English settlement wished for peace and security. The conspirators agreed that Mírjáfar should be set up as Nawáb in the place of the tyrant, and that the English should receive from the gratitude of Mírjáfar ample compensation for all their losses, and rich rewards for their assistance.

Umáchand, a crafty Bengáli, was the agent employed to transact business between the English and the Nawáb; and he was an active helper in the plot. But at the last moment he threatened to turn traitor and disclose all to the Nawáb unless he were guaranteed a payment of thirty lakhs (300,000*l.*). Clive and the other conspirators were in despair; and at last they condescended to cheat Umáchand, in order to escape from their present difficulty. Two copies of the treaty between the English and Mírjáfar were made out; one on white paper was the real treaty, in which no mention was made of Umáchand's claim; the other on red paper, a mere fictitious treaty, in which Umáchand was guaranteed all the money he demanded, was shown to the faithless Bengáli. This piece of decep-

tion has always been a stain on Clive's character. Admiral Watson (who had already shown himself to be an honest English gentleman in objecting to a temporising policy with the Nawáb) refused to sign the false treaty—so his signature was forged by the others.

Clive now wrote in peremptory terms to the Nawáb, demanding full redress of all grievances, and announcing his approach with an army to enforce his claims; and immediately afterwards set out from Chandernagar, with 650 European infantry, 150 gunners, 2,100 sepoy, a few Portuguese, and 10 guns. The Nawáb's army consisted of 50,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry, and an immense train of artillery. As Clive approached the Nawáb's encampment near Kásimbazár, Mirjáfar appears to have lost courage, for he ceased to communicate directly with the English, whilst it was known that he had taken solemn oaths to his master that he would be faithful to him. Under these alarming circumstances, Clive called together his officers in a council of war, to decide whether they should fight against such enormous odds, or should wait for a better opportunity. The majority of thirteen, including Clive himself, voted for the latter course; only seven, at the head of whom was Eyre Coote, voted for immediate fight.

After dismissing the Council, Clive took a solitary walk in an adjoining grove, and after an hour's solemn meditation he came to the conclusion that Coote was right, and that the attack ought to be made at once. Accordingly, early next morning he crossed the river with his little band and came upon the Nawáb's army about daybreak in the fields and groves of PLASSEY. During the early part of the day the English remained almost entirely on the defensive, contenting themselves with repelling the charges of the enemy's cavalry, and keeping up a desultory cannonade. At length, however, some of the Nawáb's chief officers having fallen, the troops of Mirjáfar (who had hitherto remained undecided) were seen to separate themselves somewhat from the rest of the Nawáb's army; Clive

now gave the order for a general charge, and carried all before him. Siráj-ud-daulah mounted a swift camel, and, escorted by 2,000 of his best cavalry, fled to Murshídábád. The great battle of Plassey, which virtually transferred the sovereignty of Bengal (and ultimately of India) to the English, was fought on June 23, 1757; the victors only losing 22 killed and 50 wounded.

Mirjáfar, now that the English were successful, openly joined Clive, who did not condescend to notice his vacillation, but saluted him Nawáb of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa. Siráj-ud-daulah fled in disguise from Murshídábád, and the victors at once occupied that city. The fugitive was soon betrayed by a Hindu, whose ears he had formerly cut off. He was seized and brought before the new Nawáb. Mirjáfar wished, or pretended to wish, to spare him; but his son Miran caused him to be put to death.

And now came the settlement of the engagements of the treaty. Vast sums were paid to the Company, to the British merchants, and to the Native and Armenian merchants of Calcutta, as indemnity for their losses in the sack of the city. The army and the navy, with their leaders, including Clive, Watson, and the members of Council, all shared in the spoil. Umáchand expected, too, to get his thirty lakhs, but he was soon undeceived. He was at first stunned by the blow; but he seems to have recovered, for he was afterwards recommended by Clive as 'a person capable of rendering great services, and therefore not wholly to be discarded.'

CHAPTER XXI.

CLIVE, AND THE GRANT OF THE DÍWÁNÍ OF BENGAL.

§ 1. Clive as Governor of Bengal. § 2. The Nawáb Mirjáfar.
 § 3. The Nawáb Mir Kasim. § 4. The appointment of the East India Company as Diwán of Bengal by the Mughul emperor. § 5. Clive's Reforms.

§ 1. **Clive, Governor of Bengal.**—Clive was twice governor of the English settlements in Bengal; the first time for three years, from 1757 to 1760; the second time for eighteen months, from 1765 to 1767. We have seen that on his arrival in 1757 he had found the English affairs in Bengal utterly ruined, and the English merchants and officers driven away; before his departure in 1767 he was undoubtedly the most powerful man in India, and the English were unquestioned masters of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa, and formally acknowledged as such by the Mughul emperor.

§ 2. **The Nawáb Mirjáfar.**—From the time of his accession to the Nawábship of Bengal after the battle of Plassey, Mirjáfar was little more than a tool of Clive, and was Nawáb only in name. As long as Clive remained in India he retained this position. Clive fought his battles for him. At one time, when Alí Gauhar, now called the Emperor Sháh Alam II. (*see* Chap. XV.), invaded Bihár, Clive sent an English army against him under Colonel Caillaud, who soon defeated him in the first battle of PATNA, and drove him and his ally, the Nawáb-Vazír of Oudh, out of the province. Clive ruled Bengal, and Mirjáfar enjoyed his riches and pleasures at Murshidábád.

But when Clive went away to England for five years the new governor (Mr. Vansittart) and his Council found that the Nawáb was madly extravagant in his expenses, and was unable to pay them all he owed; so they determined to depose him, and to set up his nephew Mir Kasim as Nawáb. This was soon done; and in the next section

will be found an account of the rule of Mír Kasim, and of his deposition. After this Mírjáfar was again set up as Nawáb by the Calcutta Council, who made him pay heavily for the favour; and in January 1765 he died, partly of vexation at their enormous and incessant demands. His son was put on the throne, on the payment of more money to the Council; his name was *Názim-ud-daulah*. He was the last of the Mughul Súbahdárs of Bengal; for during his time the Díwání of the province was given by the emperor to the English East India Company, who thus became *legally* (as they already were *really*) the lords of Bengal.

§ 3. **Mír Kasim.**—When Mír Kasim was put into the place of his uncle Mírjáfar he gave the English the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong. This was in 1760.

But the new Nawáb was a clever and vigorous ruler, and he determined to try to make himself independent of the English masters who had given him his throne. He abandoned Murshídábád as his capital, and went to live at Monghir (or *Munger*), in the hope of being more independent at such a great distance from Calcutta. He proceeded to collect a large army, and to discipline it in the European fashion.

About this time the Mughul Emperor, Sháh Alam II., again attempted a permanent occupation of Bihár, when he was again defeated in the second Battle of PATNA by Colonel Carnac. After this defeat the Emperor accompanied his conqueror, Colonel Carnac, to Patna, where Mír Kasim came to pay him homage, and was in consequence formally invested by the Mughul with the Súbahdárship of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa.

At length an open quarrel broke out between Mír Kasim and the English Council in 1763. Mír Kasim appears to have been at first in the right, for the conduct of the Council was unjust and tyrannical. But the Nawáb disgraced himself and his cause by the *Massacre of Patna* :

when he was hard-pressed in the fortress of Patna by the advance of the English army, in a fit of rage and madness he ordered all his English prisoners (148 in number) to be killed in cold blood. The English troops soon advanced and took Patna, and Mír Kasim was compelled to flee into Oudh, where he took refuge with the Nawáb-Vazír of Oudh (as the ruler of that country was then called) and Sháh Alam, the Mughul emperor. These two great princes determined to help Mír Kasim; so the three marched towards Patna, 1764. They were, however, repulsed by the English army, and at last took up a position at Baksar, on the Son; and in October 1764 followed the great battle of BAKSAR. Major Munro was in command of the English forces. The Nawáb-Vazír was utterly routed, with the loss of 160 pieces of cannon.

The consequences of this victory were very important. The Nawáb-Vazír of Oudh, though nominally subject to Sháh Alam II., had long been the real master of the Mughul Empire. He was now thoroughly humbled, and was subsequently obliged to throw himself on the mercy of the English, who thus succeeded to the real mastery of the central plain of Hindustan. The emperor himself came into the English camp at this time.

§ 4. *Grant of the DÍWÁNÍ.*—I have already noticed that during the absence of Clive in England the English Government in Calcutta had become very corrupt, and the Members of Council thought more of enriching themselves than of the good of the country; so the Directors of the East India Company, though they had not before been very grateful to Clive for his great services, were now very anxious that he should go to India again, in order to reform all these evils and abuses; and at length Clive consented to go, and he landed in Calcutta in 1765. His first measure was to enforce the orders of the Directors, prohibiting the acceptance of presents by their servants. He made all sign covenants binding themselves to obey this rule. He then proceeded to the English army at

Allahábád, where the Emperor Sháh Alam and Shujá-ud-daulah, the Nawáb of Oudh, were suppliants in the camp of General Carnac. The result of his negotiations was that Oudh was restored to Shujá on condition of his being a faithful ally of England; the districts of Korah and Allahábád were given to the emperor; and the latter conferred on the English the *Dívání* (i.e. the right of collecting the revenue—really involving the whole sovereignty) of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa, in return for a yearly payment of twenty-six lakhs (260,000*l.*). Though the English had long virtually possessed all the power thus given to them, the Imperial grant of the *Dívání* was valuable, as constituting them the legal (as well as the actual) sovereigns of the country. This happened on August 12, 1765. The Nawáb of Bengal was soon compelled to retire on a large pension.

§ 5. Clive's Reforms.—The remaining months of Clive's rule were devoted to carrying out the reforms in the administration of government which he had been sent to India to effect. He reduced the gains of the English military officers, and firmly suppressed a combination of about two hundred of them who had agreed to resist his intentions. He also took severe measures to prevent servants of Government from engaging in private trade.

Clive left India for the last time in 1767, a poorer man than he was when he returned to it in 1765. He was received in England with great honour; but his reforms had raised up for him a host of enemies. All whom he had punished, or whose corrupt schemes he had thwarted, leagued against him. The Court of Directors did not support him as it ought to have done; but a resolution was passed, 'that he had rendered meritorious services to his country.' He died in 1774, ten years after Dupleix.

CHAPTER XXII.

WARREN HASTINGS, THE FIRST GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

§ 1. Abolition of the Double Government in Bengal. § 2. The Rohilla War. § 3. Warren Hastings as Governor-General of India. § 4. Haidar Ali and Tippú, Sultáns of Mysore.

§ 1. **Abolition of the Double Government in Bengal.**—After the departure of Clive from India, Mr. Verelst became Governor of Bengal; and he was succeeded by Mr. Cartier, who was Governor until 1772. During the whole of this time Bengal was under a *double government*—i.e. it was ruled partly by the native officers of the Nawáb and partly by the officers of the English East India Company. This state of affairs produced a great deal of mismanagement and corruption, under which both the people and the revenue suffered, whilst the officers of Government alone gained. At length the East India Company determined to put an end to the double government; so in 1772 they sent out *Warren Hastings* as Governor of Bengal, with orders to take upon himself all the authority which belonged to the Company as *Diwán* of the province.

Warren Hastings had already distinguished himself in various important posts in the Bengal Civil Service, and had been Member of Council at Madras. Immediately on his arrival in Calcutta as Governor he transferred the seat of government to that city from Murshidábád; he immediately made arrangements for the establishment of new Courts of Civil and Criminal Justice under the authority of the East India Company, and he set to work to draw up a new code of laws.

§ 2. **The Rohilla War.**—The most important event that occurred whilst Hastings was Governor of Bengal, before he became Governor-General of India, in 1774, was the *Rohilla War*. A tribe of Afgháns called Rohillas had conquered and occupied the province on the north-west of

Oudh, now called after them Rohilkhand, during the disorders of the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Sháh (*see* Introduction, § 32, and Chap. XV. § 3). In 1771 the Mahrattas had invaded Rohilkhand; and the Rohillas had offered the Nawáb-Vazír of Oudh, according to his account, a sum of forty lakhs, for his protection against them. In 1773 the Mahrattas abandoned Rohilkhand; the Nawáb now claimed the forty lakhs, whilst the Rohillas affirmed that no such promise had been made. The Nawáb appealed to Hastings, who believed his statement, and ultimately sent a small English army into Rohilkhand. The result was that the Rohillas were conquered and their territory given to the Nawáb-Vazír of Oudh; whilst the disputed forty lakhs of rupees were made over to the English Government, together with all the expenses of the war.

§ 3. **Warren Hastings, Governor-General of India.**—About this time the English Parliament in London, hearing of the many disorders and abuses of the English rule in India, passed an Act for better regulating the administration of that Government. This Act was called the REGULATING ACT; it was passed in 1773, and came into operation in 1774. Amongst other changes made by the Regulating Act it was ordered that the Governor of Bengal should be Governor-General of all the British possessions in India, and should rule those possessions according to the advice of his Council of four. The Governor-General and the Members of Council had each one vote in deciding on the questions brought before the Council: in this way each Member of Council was almost as powerful as the Governor-General himself—a state of things destructive of all good government (but *see* Introduction.)

Warren Hastings was now Governor-General of India. Of the first four Members of Council, Mr. Barwell had been long in India, and generally supported the measures of Warren Hastings; but the other three were entirely unacquainted with this country, and one of them, Mr. Francis (afterwards Sir Philip Francis), was bitterly hostile to the

Governor-General—so that the latter was out-voted in the debates of the Council, and the three new Members carried everything their own way until the death of one of them in 1776.

The people during this interval generally regarded the power and authority of Hastings as extinct, and many accusations were brought against him by persons who wished to please the factious majority in the Council. Of these charges the most serious was brought forward by *Nandakumár*, a man infamous for his treachery and perfidy. Francis and his colleagues, however, took him under their protection, and encouraged him in his charges against the Governor-General. Suddenly Nandakumár was arrested, at the suit of an eminent native merchant, for forgery; he was tried by Sir Elijah Impey in the Supreme Court, was found guilty by a jury, and hanged—hanging was at that time the usual punishment for forgery. This execution created a great sensation, and Hastings has often been accused of having procured it unjustly to screen himself; but there seems no reason to doubt that Nandakumár was justly condemned to death. Good proof that Hastings was in no way concerned with the conviction and execution is to be found in the fact that the Members of Council might have interfered to refer the matter to England, but they refused to do so.

The Judges of the Supreme Court established in Calcutta, in striving to 'protect natives from oppression and give India the benefits of English law,' committed many great mistakes. They interfered between the zamíndárs and their rayats. Their attorneys stirred up strife everywhere. Hastings interfered to protect the landholders from this vexatious interference, and Parliament was petitioned for a change of system, and meanwhile a remedy was discovered. In the *Sadar Dívání Adálat* the Governor-General himself and his Council were appointed to preside. This they could not do, and Hastings offered the appointment of Chief Judge of this Court to Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief

Justice of the Supreme Court. This reconciled all parties, and enabled Impey to turn his attention to the subject of the administration of justice according to such forms as might suit the great simplicity of native habits. This, though disallowed by the Court of Directors at the time, is the system now restored by the amalgamation in each Presidency of the Supreme Court with the Company's old Court of Appeal.

During the later years of his reign Warren Hastings was engaged in many and great wars, some account of which will be found in the next section. In order to obtain money for these wars, he adopted some harsh measures, especially towards *Chait Singh*, who was the Rájá of Benares, and the *Begums of Oudh*, and for these and some other measures he was afterwards much blamed by his countrymen in England.

Benares had formerly been under the dominion of the Nawáb-Vazír of Oudh, but in 1775 the factious majority in the English Council, against the wishes of Hastings, forced the Nawáb to give the territory of Benares to the English. They then gave up the charge of this territory to the Hindu zamíndar (*see* Introduction, § 58), who was declared a feudatory Rájá under the protection of the English, on condition of his paying an annual tribute of twenty-two and a half lacs (225,000*l.*). In 1780 the Governor-General, being urgently in need of more money to carry on the wars against the Mahrattas and the Sultán of Mysore, informed the Rájá Chait Singh that he must pay a larger tribute than the twenty-two and a half lacs, and that he must also provide some soldiers to help the English Government. This the Rájá was very unwilling to do, so Warren Hastings proceeded to Benares, chiefly with the intention of forcing him to obey. Hastings at last was so much annoyed by the ingratitude of the Rájá that he ordered some sepoys to arrest him. Now, Rájá Chait Singh was so much respected by the people of Benares that when they heard of this order they immediately rose in insurrection and massa-

cred the soldiers who had been sent to carry it out, and then they came and surrounded the place where Hastings was. The Rájá escaped from the city. The Governor-General was in extreme danger, as he had hardly any guards with him, yet he did not lose his coolness or presence of mind, and ultimately he was able to reach the fortress of Chanár. Troops were now summoned to him from all quarters; the Rájá's army of 20,000 men was defeated, and the fortress of Bíggarh, in which he had taken refuge, was taken. The troops, however, seized all Chait Singh's treasures that they found in Bíggarh, and the Rájá himself escaped to Gwalior, so Hastings was doubly disappointed. He appointed Chait Singh's nephew to be Rájá of Benares, and then returned to Calcutta.

In the following year he was more successful in getting a large sum of money from the Begums of Oudh. The old Nawáb-Vazír of Oudh had died in 1775, and his widow and mother, the Begums, declared that he had left to them by will all the immense treasures of the State of Oudh. The English Council at Calcutta, against the wishes of Hastings, had forced the young Nawáb to allow the Begums to retain all this money, and thus the young Nawáb was left with no money, either to pay his army or to discharge his debt to the English Government. In 1781 the Nawáb declared that he was unable to pay his debt, except with the money which the Begums had seized; and charges were brought forward against these ladies of having helped Chait Singh with money and with soldiers. Hastings consequently allowed the Nawáb to extort seventy-six lacs from the Begums, wherewith to pay his debt to the English. This appears to have been an action of very doubtful justice, though it is impossible to ascertain how far the Begums were originally entitled to all the money which they had seized. However this may be, the conduct of Warren Hastings, both towards the Begums and towards Chait Singh, was severely censured by the Directors of the East India Company in London, so he determined to resign his

office as Governor-General. He left India in February 1785. Shortly after he reached England his enemies determined to bring him to trial for his conduct in India, and a famous orator named Burke was especially bitter in his prosecution of Hastings. The case was tried before the House of Lords, the House of Commons being the accusers (such a trial is called an *impeachment*). It began on February 13, 1788, and was protracted till April 23, 1795, when he was completely and honourably acquitted. The trial cost him 100,000*l*. Though thus reduced to comparative poverty, he lived peaceably at Daylesford till his death in 1819. Once only did he again appear in public, and then he was called to give, in 1813, evidence before the House of Commons regarding Indian affairs. On that occasion the whole assembly stood up to do him honour.

Some important alterations were made by the English Parliament, in 1784, in the constitution of the Government of India both in England and in this country. The chief point was that the control of the British Indian Empire was confided, in all essential points, to a Minister of the King of England, who was called President of the Board of Control, who had the power of appointing the Governor-General. The Act of Parliament that made these alterations was called Pitt's India Bill. Mr. Fox had previously endeavoured to persuade the English Parliament to pass another law about the Indian Government, which would have put the English dominions in India directly under the authority of the English Crown, almost as they are at present, but the Parliament refused to sanction this Bill.

§ 4. **Haidar Alí and Tippú, Sultáns of Mysore.**—The pressing want of money which led Hastings to adopt such severe measures against the Rájá of Benares and the Begums of Oudh was mainly caused by the many great wars in which he was involved about this time. These wars were directed against the Mahrattas, the Sultán of Mysore, the French, and the Dutch. The war against the Mahrattas, called the First Mahratta War, has been briefly described

in Chap. XVII. § 8, and we there saw that the aid at first offered to *Raghoba* by the English was ineffectual, owing to the many difficulties in which they were involved elsewhere, and especially the war with Mysore.

The State of Mysore, in Southern India, had risen into importance and power owing to the great abilities of a famous military leader, named HAIDAR ALÍ. This man had been one of the captains of the troops of the Hindú Rájá of Mysore, and in 1761 he had expelled the Rájá and his minister from the kingdom, and had established himself as Sultán. He had already collected a considerable number of troops and much treasure; and not long after he had succeeded in placing himself on the throne he seized the fortress of Bednor, in which he found an immense hoard of treasure, which aided him in his future wars.

In 1765 the Mahrattas, under Madhu Ráo, the fourth Peshwá, invaded Haidar's dominions, and utterly defeated his army, and he was consequently obliged to cede to them all the territory he had conquered on the northern frontiers, and to pay thirty-two lacs (320,000*l.*). In the following year, however, he recovered some of his lost ground, for he led his army westward into the fertile Malabar country and conquered most of that district. Here he was guilty of the most disgraceful treachery, for though the Zamorin (or petty Rájá) of Calicut came out and submitted to him, he took that city by surprise and sacked it, the Zamorin burning himself in his palace to avoid a worse fate.

The *First Mysore War* broke out between the English Government of Madras and Haidar in 1766, not long before Clive left India for the last time. At first the Mahrattas under Madhu Ráo, and the Haidarábád forces under the Nizám, were in alliance with the English, but they were bribed by Haidar, and ultimately the Nizám's forces joined those of Mysore. *Colonel Smith* was the English general, and he was at one time in considerable danger, as he had only 7,000 men and 16 guns against 70,000 men and 100 guns of Haidar and the Nizám. Ultimately, however, he repulsed

them at *Chángama*, and soon afterwards routed them at *Trinomali*, both places being in South Arcot, A.D. 1767. The war was continued with varied fortune for two years longer, and Haidar was at one time so hard-pressed that he was obliged to sue for peace. But at last, in 1769, the skilful Mysore chief made a rapid march at the head of a large force of cavalry, so as to avoid the army of Colonel Smith, and appeared within a few miles of the city of Madras. On this the Madras Council immediately made peace with him, on condition that all things should remain as they had been at the beginning of the war. This treaty of Madras concluded the first Mysore War.

In 1769 Haidar was again attacked by Madhu Ráo and the Mahrattas. In the war that followed he was continually defeated and well-nigh ruined, and at last, in 1722 (about the time that Warren Hastings was appointed Governor of Bengal), the unfortunate Sultán of Mysore was compelled to buy off the Mahrattas by giving them all his northern dominions, and by promising to pay them enormous sums. In the following six years, however, he more than recovered all he had lost, owing to the death of Madhu Ráo and the dissensions among the Mahrattas (*see* Chap. XVII. § 7).

In 1780 the *Second Mysore War* broke out between the English and Haidar. The Sultán of Mysore had taken advantage of the English being involved in the difficulties of the first Mahratta War to induce the Mahrattas and the Nizám of Haidarábád to help him in conquering the English dominions in the Carnatic. He invaded the Carnatic in July 1780, with a grand army of 90,000 men, and was at first entirely successful. He took many English forts, and at length succeeded in defeating part of the English army under *Colonel Baillie*, taking as prisoners Baillie himself and about 200 men. The English Commander-in-Chief was called *Sir Hector Munro*, and he was now forced to retreat to Madras, and to send a request for help to Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, at Cal-

cutta. Hastings immediately sent *Sir Eyre Coote* to Madras by sea with some troops, and this brave and skilful general defeated Haidar in three great battles during the course of the year 1781, at *Porto Novo*, *Pollilor*, and *Solingarh*. But in the following year Sir Eyre Coote was obliged to resign his command owing to ill-health, and the war was carried on throughout the year with varied success, until at length, in December 1782, Haidar died somewhat suddenly. His son Tippú, who now succeeded him as Sultán of Mysore, was distinguished by an implacable hatred of the English. He was a man of a cruel and ferocious temper, like his father, and hardly inferior to him in military skill, whilst he was far superior in general knowledge. He carried on the war against the Madras Government for more than a year longer; and at last, in 1784, when an English army under Colonel *Fullarton* was about to march on his capital, Seringapatam, he concluded a treaty with the Governor of Madras (in opposition to the wishes of the Governor-General), by which it was agreed that both sides should restore the conquests which they had made. This was much to the disadvantage of the Madras Government, for the English had made many more conquests than Tippú had. The treaty which ended this second Mysore War was called the *Treaty of Mangalore*, 1784. We shall hear of the *third Mysore War* (1790) in the time of Lord Cornwallis, but the final conquest of Mysore was not effected until the reign of the great Marquis Wellesley (1798-1799), in the *fourth Mysore War*.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LORD CORNWALLIS—THE THIRD MYSORE WAR, AND
THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF BENGAL. A.D.
1786-1793.

§ 1. Reforms in the Administration. § 2. The Third Mysore War. § 3. The Permanent Settlement of the Revenues of Bengal. § 4. Reforms in the Law Courts. § 5. Sir John Shore, Governor-General.

§ 1. **Reforms in the Administration.**—When Warren Hastings retired from the Governor-Generalship, in 1785, there was some delay before any one was appointed to that high office; and in the meantime Sir John Macpherson, Senior Member of Council, acted as Governor-General. At last Lord Cornwallis was appointed, a nobleman of great firmness and energy, and he commenced his reign by some vigorous reforms in the administration of the Government, which had suffered much from corruption and bribery, notwithstanding all the efforts of Clive and Warren Hastings. The officers and public servants of the East India Company had been hitherto allowed only very small salaries, and as their opportunities were great of enriching themselves by taking bribes and in other dishonest ways, they had frequently yielded to the temptation. Lord Cornwallis now ordered that every officer of the Government should receive such a good salary as should leave no shadow of excuse for trading or attempting to acquire money by improper means, and this benevolent order, combined with great firmness in punishing all evil-doers, soon produced a very beneficial effect.

§ 2. **The Third Mysore War.**—After the treaty of Mangalore and the conclusion of the Second Mysore War, in 1784, Tippú Sultán advanced rapidly in power and wealth. During the six years from 1784 to 1790 he had successfully resisted a most formidable attack of the Mahrattas and the Nizám of Haidarabad; he had conquered the districts of Kanará, Coorg, and Malabar, often with circumstances of

the greatest cruelty and oppression—destroying all Hindu temples and forcing as many of the people as he could to become Muhammadans. At last he attacked the Rájá of Travancore, the territory which lies in the extreme southern corner of India. In his first attack on the wall which the Rájá of Travancore had built to defend his country Tippú was repulsed with immense loss and with considerable danger to himself; so he determined in his rage to take a terrible revenge, and made large preparations for the conquest of the little State that had dared to defeat him. But the Rájá of Travancore was an ally of the English; and Lord Cornwallis determined to prevent Tippú from carrying out his designs.

The Nizám of Haidarabad had just at this time (1788–89) fulfilled an old promise by ceding to the English the district of Gantur, south of the Khrishna; and he now agreed to help the English against Tippú, being promised that he should receive some of the conquered territory. The Mah-rattas of Poona also, under the clever minister named Náná Farnavis (*see* Chap. XVII. § 8), promised help on the same conditions. In 1790 Lord Cornwallis went in person to Madras to conduct the war. In March 1791 he captured Bangalore, the second city in point of size and importance in Tippú's dominions; and two months afterwards he totally defeated Tippú and all his army in the great battle of ARIKERA. After this the capital, Seringapatam, must itself have been taken, if the Mahrattas had been at hand to help Lord Cornwallis, as they had promised; but their general *Hari Pant* had been intent only on plunder, and had consequently delayed his march so long that at last Lord Cornwallis was obliged, for want of supplies, to return to Madras. During the rest of the year he busied himself with preparations for the next campaign, and in taking sundry of Tippú's fortresses; and at the very beginning of 1792 he marched once more against Seringapatam. This great fortress was just about to fall; indeed, the outer works had already been taken, when Tippú agreed to the

terms imposed by Lord Cornwallis. These were, to cede half his territories, to pay three crores of rupees (£3,000,000) to the English, as well as thirty lacs (£300,000) to the Mahrattas, and to give up two of his sons as hostages. Lord Cornwallis faithfully fulfilled his promise of giving a share of the conquered territories to the Nizám and to the Mahrattas, though their soldiers had done nothing in the war, and had even treacherously corresponded with Tippú. The English gained by this successful war the districts of Dindigal, the Baramahall, and Malabar; whilst Coorg was restored to its own Rájá. These final arrangements that concluded the Third Mysore War were perfected in February 1792.

§ 3. The Permanent Settlement of Bengal.—Lord Cornwallis gained much credit for the successful prosecution of the war against Tippú; and he was raised to the rank of a Marquis for it, though the East India Company disapproved of the acquisition of new territory. But the chief ground of his fame is the *Permanent Settlement*, which he effected in 1793, of the land revenue of Bengal.

The land had been the principal source of revenue under every dynasty (*see* Introduction, § 58). The collectors of this revenue in Bengal under the Mughul Emperors had, by degrees, converted themselves into zamíndárs, possessing military and judicial authority. Many of these zamíndárs were also the representatives of the old local aristocracy. These persons the British Government did not at first recognise; but, in 1786, the Directors wrote out that all engagements should, as a matter of policy, be made with the zamíndárs. This was to be done for ten years; and the settlement of revenue-payment to be made permanent, if it were found to answer. Lord Cornwallis, by his regulations in 1793, confirmed the zamíndárs in the absolute proprietorship of the soil. They were legally constituted landlords under the British Government; and the cultivators were recognised as their tenants, and have subsequently been granted certain tenant-rights.

§ 4. **Reforms in the Law Courts.**—The reform of the Civil and Criminal Courts next occupied his attention. Sir Elijah Impey's rules were developed into a volume of regulations by Sir George Barlow; and the system of Civil Courts and procedure which, with modifications, still exists, was established.

§ 5. **Sir John Shore, Governor-General.**—Sir John Shore, an eminent civilian, was appointed to succeed Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General of India; and he reigned from 1793 to 1798. The period of his rule, however, was not distinguished by many important public events; and as he, like Lord Cornwallis, regarded himself bound by the orders of the Directors of the East India Company not to interfere in any quarrels between native princes, we may properly include his reign in the same chapter with that of Lord Cornwallis. This '*non-intervention policy*' gave great encouragement to the ambition both of Tippú in Mysore and of the Mahrattas. The Mahrattas were emboldened by it to attack the Nizám of Haidarabad, whose power they effectually humbled in the battle of Kurdlá, as narrated in Chap. XVII. § 9. Throughout this period Náná Farnavis, the prime minister of the Peshwá, was the most powerful Mahratta statesman.

On one occasion, however, Sir John Shore found himself obliged to interfere with the affairs of a native State. In 1797 the Nawáb-Vazír Asaf-ud-daulah of Oudh died. In vain had he been exhorted to pay some attention to the welfare of his kingdom. He lived and died a child in intellect, and a debased sensualist. A reputed son of the late Nawáb, named Vazír Ali, succeeded him; but his proved illegitimacy and worthless character led Sir John Shore to displace him, and elevate Saádat Ali, brother of the late Nawáb. Mr. Cherry was the Resident at Benares; and he negotiated the treaty with Saádat Ali, then living at Benares. Soon after the new Nawáb marched to Lucknow, where Sir John was encamped. The Governor-General was in extreme peril from Vazir Ali's hordes of

lawless soldiers; but he, with the utmost calmness and composure, maintained his position, and the new Nawáb was placed on the *masnad*, Vazír Alí being sent to Benares. In 1799 Vazír Alí assassinated Mr. Cherry in Benares, and raised a temporary rebellion, but was defeated and taken prisoner.

Sir John Shore, who was created Lord Teignmouth, sailed for England in March 1798.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY—THE CONQUEST OF MYSORE AND OF THE MAHRATTAS. A.D. 1798-1805.

§ 1. The Subsidiary System. § 2. The Fourth (and last) Mysore War. § 3. Formal Annexation of the Carnatic, and of the North-West Provinces. § 4. The Conquest of the Mahrattas.

§ 1. **The Subsidiary System.**—A few words are here necessary to explain the SUBSIDIARY SYSTEM, which Warren Hastings was the first to introduce in his dealings with Oudh, and which was the basis of the policy of the Marquis Wellesley in his dealings with native States. When a State consented by treaty to accede to this system it acknowledged the British Government as the paramount power in India; and in return it received the guarantee of that Government for its safety and integrity. It agreed not to make war or peace without the sanction of the Paramount Power, and to maintain a contingent of troops as a subsidiary force wherewith to aid the British Government in time of need. Such were usually the main conditions of this policy, modified, of course, according to circumstances (*see* Introduction). It superseded altogether the policy which had been in vogue under Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, which had been based mainly on the foolish idea of maintaining a *balance of power* amongst the native States, so as to prevent any of them becoming too powerful.

§ 2. **The Fourth and last Mysore War.**—At the moment of Lord Wellesley's arrival the British Empire in India was threatened by a combination of a large number of native chiefs, who were encouraged to resist the English arms both by the 'non-intervention' policy of the two preceding Governors-General, and by the aid and money of the French, with whom the English had now been long at war. Tippú Sultán of Mysore, the Nizám of Haidarabad, and Sindia, the most powerful of the Mahratta chiefs, were all under French influence, and had their armies chiefly officered by Frenchmen; whilst Zamán Sháh, the Durání monarch of Afghánistán and the Punjab—the grandson of the terrible Ahmad Sháh Abdálí, who had so often overrun Hindustan (*see* Chap. XV. § 5), threatened to invade Northern India as an ally of Tippú Sultán. But Lord Wellesley, by his extraordinary vigour and ability, and by the military skill and bravery of the soldiers under him (especially of his brother, Colonel Wellesley, afterwards the great Duke of Wellington), was ultimately able to dissipate all these dangers.

His first step was to conclude a 'subsidiary treaty'—*i.e.* a treaty on the subsidiary principle explained in the preceding section—with the Nizám of Haidarabad; under which the Nizám helped the English in the Mysore War with a considerable force, the command of which was given to Colonel Wellesley. The Governor-General then proceeded to Madras, to direct the operations against Tippú, who had madly declared himself a 'citizen of the French Republic,' and had publicly asked for the help of the great French general Napoleon Buonaparte (who was at this time in Egypt) to expel the English from India. Two armies were ordered to invade the Mysore territories; one under the Commander-in-Chief, General Harris, was called the Army of the Carnatic, and advanced on Tippú from the side of Madras; the other, under General Stuart, consisted of Bombay troops, and advanced on the Malabar side. Tippú was defeated by each of these armies successively—

by General Stuart's forces in the battle of *Sedusir*, and by General Harris's forces at *Mallavelli* (1799). At length both the English armies arrived before Seringapatam, Tippú's capital, and the great *Siege of Seringapatam* began.

Tippú seems to have lost all the energies of his mind at this time, and to have been overwhelmed by fear and despair. He consulted soothsayers and Bráhmans, and caused prayers to be offered up both in Muhammadan mosques and in Hindu temples, forgetful of the frightful cruelties which he had inflicted on the Hindus. He sent to propose terms of peace, and then refused to listen to the conditions offered by General Harris. He appears to have lost all generalship and diplomacy, and even common sense. Meanwhile, General Harris was vigorously bombarding the defences of the stupendous fortress, and on May 8, 1799, the breach was reported to be practicable. Before daybreak on the 4th General Baird, who had for four years been a prisoner in the dungeons of the city, led the troops to the assault. In seven minutes the British flag was planted on the summit of the breach. The two columns, after encountering many obstacles, and gallant opposition from the small band of Mysore troops, met over the eastern gateway. The city was taken.

The body of the Sultán himself was found in a palanquin under an archway, beneath a heap of slain. It was buried with military honours the next day in a beautiful mausoleum in the *Lál Bágh*. It was ascertained (and it takes away any lingering feeling of pity for the tyrant) that every European prisoner taken during the siege had been put to death by Tippú.

Lord Wellesley now gave part of the territories of Tippú to the Nizam of Haidarabad, retaining for the English the districts of Kanará, Coimbatore, and the Wainád. He restored to the throne of the principality of Mysore a little boy who was the legal representative of the ancient Hindu royal family, and left his brother, General Wellesley, to superintend the settlement and administration of the country.

The conquest of Mysore made the English power unquestionably supreme in the Deccan.

§ 3. **Formal Annexation of the Carnatic and of the North-West Provinces.**—In 1801, two years after the fall of Seringapatam, the Nawáb of the Carnatic (son of the old Muhammadan Ali—*see* Chap. XIX. § 2—who had died in 1795) formally resigned to the British Government the territories known as the Carnatic, in return for a large pension, and this cession enlarged the Presidency of Madras to its present size.

The Governor-General about the time (1801) intervened in the affairs of Oudh, which had been frightfully misgoverned and oppressed by the Nawáb-Vasír Saádat Ali and his Vazír, who moreover had neglected to maintain their army in the efficient and disciplined state promised by the subsidiary treaty. Lord Cornwallis now compelled the Nawáb to remedy this, and to cede certain districts to the British Government for the support of these troops. The districts thus ceded comprised a great part of what are now called the North-West Provinces.

§ 4. **Conquest of the Mahrattas.**—The Governor-General had had many disputes with the Directors of the East India Company, who disapproved of his extensive conquests, and also of his liberality in wishing to throw open the trade of India—*i.e.* to allow any one to carry on trade between England and India that wished to do so, instead of reserving the whole trade for the East India Company. At last, in 1802, Lord Wellesley had almost determined to resign his office, but he was induced to remain as Governor-General a little longer; but this was a most fortunate thing for British India, for just now happened the *Treaty of Bassein* (1802), followed by the *Second Mahratta War* (1804–1805) against Sindia and the Rájá of Barár, and the *Third Mahratta War* (1804–1805) against Holkár and the Rájá of Bhartpur, which finally crushed the power of the Mahrattas and established the British Empire as the Paramount Power throughout India. A short

account of these wars and their consequences has already been given in Chap. XIX. §§ 10, 11, 12. This was the time when Orissa was finally taken from the Mahrattas by the English, 1803-1804.

Lord Wellesley left Calcutta in August 1805, after a most glorious and successful administration. He had increased the dominions of the East India Company to more than double their former extent, and had firmly consolidated this gigantic empire.

CHAPTER XXV.

LORD CORNWALLIS AGAIN—SIR GEORGE BARLOW—LORD MINTO. A.D. 1805-1813.

§ 1. Peace with the Mahrattas. § 2. The Vellor Mutiny. § 3. The Rise of the Sikh Power in the Punjab.

§ 1. **Peace with the Mahrattas.**—The warlike Lord Wellesley, who had made so many conquests, was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, who came out to India to be Governor-General for the second time, but who died within a few months of his arrival. Next Sir George Barlow was appointed Governor-General, and both Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow were determined immediately to make peace with all the enemies against whom Lord Wellesley had been fighting. The consequence of this was that the Mahratta chief Holkár (*see* Chap. XIX. § 12) obtained peace on very easy terms in November 1805; and what was particularly disgraceful to Sir George Barlow in thus hastily making peace was the fact that the Mahrattas were now allowed to revenge themselves on the faithful Rájput allies of the English, for the Governor-General declared that he would no more interfere in any of the quarrels between Native Princes.

§ 2. **The Vellor Mutiny.**—During Sir George Barlow's short reign (1805-1807) occurred also a mutiny at Vellor

amongst the Madras sepoys, who had been deluded into the belief that some change which was made by the Government in the shape of their head-dresses was intended to break their caste and turn them into Christians. The mutinous sepoys were at once dispersed or slain, but not until they had killed some European fellow-soldiers, whom they surprised in sleep. After this Sir George Barlow was deprived of the office of Governor-General, and made Governor of Madras; Lord Minto was appointed Governor-General, and reigned from 1807 to 1813.

§ 3. The Rise of the Sikh Power in the Punjab.—During the reign of Lord Minto the war between the English and the French, which had been going on for many years in Europe, was continued with great fury, and the British Indian troops took away from the French all the colonies in the East that were held by them, or by their allies the Dutch, particularly the rich Dutch Island of Java. About the same time it was feared that the French and the Russians were hoping to disturb the British rule in India, by stirring up the rulers of the Punjab, of Sind, of Afghanistan, and of Persia to conspire against the English. Lord Minto, however, succeeded in persuading the kings of Kábul and of Persia, and the Amírs of Sind, to make treaties with him, by which they promised to have nothing to do with any other European Powers. He also induced the great *Ranjít Singh*, the leader of the Sikhs in the Punjab, to make a similar treaty; and it will be well for us here to go back a little, to note the rise of the power of the Sikhs in the Punjab.

We have seen, in Chap. XV. § 2, that the Sikhs were at first an inoffensive religious sect, and that gradually, in consequence of the cruel way in which they were persecuted by the Muhammadan Emperors of Delhi, they became a military as well as a religious body. They were nearly extirpated by the Emperor Farrukh Siyar (1713–1719), but they soon recovered their numbers and influence in the Punjab. This province was subjugated by the

Persians under Nádír Sháh in 1738, and again several times by the Afghán king Ahmad Sháh, the Abdáli or Durání, 1747-1759 (*see* Chap. XV. §§ 4, 5). From the year 1751 it was severed from the Mughul Empire, and was attached more or less closely to the Durání Empire of Kábul under the successors of Ahmad Sháh.

Ranjít Singh was born on November 2, 1780. He first attracted the attention of Zamán Sháh Durání (*see* § 62), the grandson of Ahmad Sháh, by recovering some guns for him which had been lost in the Jhelam. By Zamán Sháh he was appointed Governor of Lahore in 1798, when he was only eighteen. From this time Ranjít Singh devoted his great abilities to the improvement of his army and the enlargement of his territories.

In 1809 the Sardárs of the Cis-Sutlej States of Pattiála and Jhínd appealed to Lord Minto for protection against the encroachments of Ranjít.

Mr. Metcalfe (afterwards Sir Charles Metcalfe, and subsequently Lord Metcalfe) was sent to Lahore as an envoy, and a treaty was concluded by which Ranjít Singh agreed to respect the rights of the Cis-Sutlej States, and to cultivate the friendship of the British Government. Ranjít Singh was greatly pleased with the demeanour of young Metcalfe (who was only in his twenty-first year), and was so much impressed in favour of the English character that he could never afterwards be induced to break this treaty.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS—THE NEPÁL AND PINDÁRI WARS. A.D. 1813-1823.

§ 1. The Nepál War. § 2. The Pindári War.

§ 1. **The Nepál War.**—The Earl of Moira (afterwards the Marquis of Hastings) was appointed to succeed Lord Minto, and arrived in Calcutta in October 1813. He found

the finances embarrassed, and many disputes with Native States pending; for nine years he ruled with resolution and success, and left the Empire in a flourishing condition. He was a distinguished soldier, an experienced statesman, and a man of amiable manners and noble character.

The Ghúrkas, a powerful and warlike tribe, had established themselves in Nepál about the year 1767 (*see* Introduction, § 27). Gradually extending their conquests, they had thoroughly subjugated the sub-Himálayan valleys, and were now displaying an inclination to encroach on their southern neighbours in Hindustan. The ruler of Nepál had imprisoned the zamúndár of Bhút wál, and had seized his territory; and eighteen British police officers in that district had been murdered. The Governor-General determined to teach the Ghúrkas a severe lesson, and ordered a British army to advance into Nepál in four divisions by different routes, A.D. 1814. Generals Ochterlony and Gillespie were in command of the British troops; but the latter was killed in a gallant but unsuccessful attempt to take the fortress of Kalunga, and the army met with several reverses. Amír Singh was the general of the Ghúrkas. General Ochterlony at length succeeded in driving him from the heights of Rámgarh, which were exceedingly strong; the Rájá of Biláspur was detached from the Nepál cause, and the province of Kumáon subdued. At last Amír Singh was shut up in the fortress of Malaun; and in May 1815 he was forced to capitulate to General Ochterlony. All the forts between the Jamnah and the Sutlej were then given up, and Garh wál evacuated. The Court of Nepál, terrified by these reverses, now made overtures for peace; but the negotiations were broken off, owing to the unwillingness of the Nepálese to cede some districts of the *Tarai*. General Ochterlony resumed military operations in January 1816, and gained some more victories; when at length the Nepál Darbár, convinced of their inability to oppose the British, agreed to cede all the conquered provinces, and peace was concluded (1816).

§ 2. The Pindári War.—The *Pindáris* were hordes of lawless plundering robbers that had long followed like jackals the armies of the Mahratta chiefs, especially those of Sindia and Holkár. Assignments of lands had been made to them on the banks of the Narbadá; and they had for some years been the scourge of Central India. The Governor-General now determined to suppress these enemies of mankind; and at the same time firmly to assert the supremacy of the British power over the Mahratta chiefs themselves, who had been encouraged by the Nepál war to conspire. Báji Ráo, the Peshwá at Poona, was the head of this conspiracy; and Appá Saheb, the Rájá of Barár at Nágpur, was one of the chief conspirators.

Sindia submitted to the British, and his representatives are still Mahárájás of Gwalior. So did *Amír Khán*, the most prominent leader of the Pindáris; and his descendants are still Nawábs of Tank. Báji Ráo resisted, and even dared to attack and plunder the house of the British Resident at Poona, November 1817; but he was soon put to flight, and after a long series of attempts to withstand the British arms he was deposed. His dominions were annexed to the British Empire, except a small tract around Sátára which was given to the Rájá who was the true representative of Sivaji, 1818. Appá Saheb had attacked the English at Nágpur shortly after Báji Ráo had failed at Poona; but he was easily defeated and taken prisoner, and ultimately he escaped to the Punjab, where he lived and died in utter obscurity among the Sikhs.

After the submission of *Amír Khán* all the other Pindári leaders were gradually conquered. The last of these was named *Chitu*. He at one time took refuge among the troops of Holkár, who had murdered their Queen-Regent, *Tulsí Báí*, because she was suspected of favouring the English, and had determined to resist the British arms. A great battle was fought at MAHIDPUR (December 1817), in which the Mahrattas and Pindáris of Holkár's army were utterly defeated by the English generals *Hislop* and *Mal-*

colm. After this the young chief Malbár Ráo Holkár made a *subsidiary treaty* (*see* Chap. XXIV. § 1) with the English. Chitu, the Pindári leader, fled from place to place, being gradually deserted by his followers; till at length he was devoured by a tiger in the jungles near Asírgarh, in Khándesh, 1819.

The whole of the Mahratta country, and indeed the whole of Central India, had been reduced to order and submission during the course of this war. The Marquis of Hastings returned to England in 1823, accompanied by the applause of all.

CHAPTER XXVII.

LORD AMHERST—THE FIRST BURMA WAR, AND THE
STORMING OF BHARTPUR. A.D. 1823-1828.

§ 1. The First Burma War. § 2. The Storming of Bhartpur.

§ 1. **The First Burma War.**—Lord Amherst arrived in India as Governor-General a few months after the departure of Lord Hastings; and he soon found it necessary to defend the British power in India against the insults with which it was threatened from the ignorance and folly of the King of Burma. Burma (*see* Introduction, § 33) is a country far away to the east of the Bay of Bengal, beyond Chittagong and the easternmost parts of Bengal; and the Burmese are a people not at all like the Hindus, but somewhat like the Chinese. A great part of Burma, indeed all except the inland provinces, now belongs to the Indian Empire, and is called British Burma; and we shall see in this section (and in Chap. XXXII. § 2, about the *Second Burma War*) under what circumstances British Burma became subject to the English.

The King of Burma had been largely extending his conquests in the countries on the north-east shores of the Bay of Bengal. His armies had overrun the provinces of Arakán and Assam; and his territories were now bounded

on the west by the Bengal provinces belonging to the English. Not being fully acquainted with the irresistible power of the British Empire, he thought, at one time during the reign of Lord Hastings, that he might take advantage of the English being engaged in the Pindári war, and with impunity seize some of the Bengal territories. He actually had the audacity to send a letter to Lord Hastings, demanding the cession of some of these territories, on the ground that they had formed part of the old kingdom of Arakán; but Lord Hastings treated the letter as a forgery; and the King of Burma, finding that the English had conquered the Nepálese and their other enemies in India, was afraid to say that he had really sent the letter. In 1823, however, he proceeded to attack Cachár (the Rája of Cachár being in alliance with the English), and in other ways to show that he had no respect for the English power; so Lord Amherst determined to send an army into the Burmese territories in order to punish the King. Sir Archibald Campbell was the general of this army (1824); and he fought many battles with the troops of the King of Burma, and thoroughly conquered them. The greatest and last of these battles was fought at a place called *Pagahn*, in which 2,000 British troops routed a Burmese army of 18,000. At length, when the British army was close to *Amarapura*, which was then the capital of Burma, and the place where the royal palace was, the King of Burma submitted, and signed a treaty called the *Treaty of Yendabú*; by this treaty he agreed to give up Arakán and several other rich provinces to the English, as well as a crore of rupees (1,000,000*l.*) in money; and he promised never again to claim any rights over Assam, Cachár, or the neighbouring Jaintia hills and valleys.

§ 2. **The Storming of Bhartpur.**—In 1826 the fortress of Bhartpur was stormed by the British army under Lord Combermere, who was Commander-in-Chief under Lord Amherst. The only importance attached to this conquest

was owing to the fact that many of the enemies of the English rule in India had believed, or pretended to believe, that Bhartpur was such a strong fortress that even the English could not take it.

In 1827 Lord Amherst went to Delhi, and solemnly informed the King of Delhi (the representative of the old Mughul Emperors, who at this time was in receipt of a pension from the British Government) that the English were now the Paramount Power in India. Up to the period of this declaration the representative of the Mughul Emperors had been regarded as nominally the Lord Paramount of India, though his power had long before really passed into the hands of the British.

Lord Amherst, one of the least eminent of the rulers of British India, retired in March 1828; and Mr. Butterworth Bayley, one of the distinguished school of statesmen trained under the Marquis Wellesley, acted as Governor-General until the arrival of his successor.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK—PEACE AND REFORMS. A.D. 1828-1835.

§ 1. Peaceful Character of this Reign. § 2. Settlement of Mysore and Coorg. § 3. Economical and Social Reforms.

§ 1. **A Peaceful Reign.**—Lord William Bentinck had formerly been Governor of Madras; and he had been recalled in 1807. He was consequently anxious to have a chance of retrieving his reputation, by becoming Governor-General of India; and he fully attained the object of his wishes, for his administration marks an era of peaceful improvement and progress in India. It commenced in July 1828, and lasted until March 1835; and though not remarkable for any great military exploits, was distinguished by a large number of reforms, economical, judicial, and social, of greater value and importance than any conquest.

§ 2. **Settlement of Mysore and Coorg.**—We must, however, notice the one war that happened during this reign, which was the conquest of the little State of Coorg, adjoining Mysore, in Southern India. Its Rájá was a mad tyrant, who slew every member of the royal family, and most cruelly oppressed the people; and as he defied the British Government when called upon to amend, it was resolved to depose him. The war was a nominal one, and only lasted ten days; the Rájá was then sent as a prisoner to Benares, and the British rule was established throughout the province, 1833.

The year before this, in 1832, it had been found necessary to put Mysore also under a British officer, as the ministers of the Rájá had been guilty of gross misgovernment. The country has subsequently prospered wonderfully. The Rájá has since died, and the British Government has recognised the succession of his adopted son and heir.

§ 3. **Economical and Social Reforms.**—Many important economical reforms were carried out by Lord William Bentinck in the civil and military administrations. Of these the one that provoked most opposition was the abolition of *double batta*. *Double batta* was an allowance given to the army when on service, in addition to their ordinary pay. The judicial reforms carried out at this time were of considerable importance, especially with reference to the extended employment of native judicial officers in responsible posts.

But the reform for which Lord William Bentinck is most famous was the abolition of *satí* or *suttee*. This horrible custom (the self-immolation of widows on the funeral pile of their deceased husbands—see Introduction) had long been practised in India, though by many scholars it was believed not to be authorised by the Sástras. The Governor-General, aided by Mr. Butterworth Bayley and Sir Charles Metcalfe, his two councillors, at this time (December 1829) enacted that any person aiding or abetting a *satí* should be visited with the terrors of the law.

The barbarous superstition is now nearly obsolete in India.

In 1829 the Governor-General appointed Major Sleeman (afterwards Sir William Sleeman) as Commissioner for the suppression of *thuggee* (see Introduction, § 93). The *thugs* were bands of wretches, half robbers and half fanatics, who were in the habit of decoying away and murdering defenceless travellers, especially in the forests of Central India. They regarded this occupation not only as a mode of getting money, but also as a part of their religion. Sleeman, however, succeeded in almost entirely suppressing this horrible form of crime.

A great Bengálí reformer rose into eminence about this time. He was called Rámmohan Rái; he was both a learned and a good man, and did his utmost to improve the condition of his countrymen in every way. At length the King of Delhi (who was much distressed at the humble condition to which he had been reduced by the declaration of Lord Amherst, see Chap. XXVII. § 2) induced Rámmohan Rái to proceed to England as his agent, to endeavour to get better terms and a larger pension from the English Government; and the great Bengálí died at Bristol in 1833.

Lord William Bentinck left India in May 1835; and Sir Charles Metcalfe took his place as Acting Governor-General until the arrival of a successor in March 1836. Sir Charles Metcalfe seized the opportunity of his short tenure of power to pass a measure which gained him very great popularity. This was the abolition of all legal restrictions on the liberty of the Press—the despotic power of the Governor-General being held in reserve to check any really seditious writing. Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, at this time Legal Member of Council, introduced this measure into the Governor-General's Council.

CHAPTER XXIX.

LORD AUCKLAND—THE AFGHÁN WAR.

§ 1. State of Afghánistán. § 2. The Afghán War.

§ 1. *State of Afghánistán.*—Lord Auckland succeeded as Governor-General in 1836. We have seen, in the Introduction, § 28, that Afghánistán is a very mountainous country beyond the north-west frontiers of India. It lies next to the Punjab, from which it is separated by high mountains, crossed by very difficult and dangerous passes. Through these roads over the mountains from Afghánistán have come most of the foreign invaders (such as Mahmúd of Ghazní, Muhammad Ghori, Tímúr, Bábar, and Nádír Sháh) that have at various times invaded India; indeed, this is almost the only direction from which they can possibly come, unless they come by sea.

On this account, ever since the English have been the Paramount Power in India, the English Government has wished that the country of Afghánistán should be ruled over by princes friendly to the English power; for then the Afgháns would make it more difficult for any foreign enemy to disturb the peace of India.

During the Mughul period this desirable object had been attained by the Mughul emperors, by the annexation of Kábul and Kandahár, these two districts being *Súbahs* of the Mughul empire. Under the less powerful emperors, however, it often happened that Kandahár was allowed to fall under the power of Persia. About the beginning of the eighteenth century an army of Afgháns actually conquered and for a time occupied Persia; and the tremendous invasion, first of Afghánistán, and afterwards of India, by Nádír Sháh was in retaliation for the oppressions of these Afghán invaders (*see* Chap. XV. § 4). We have seen that, on the assassination of Nádír Sháh in 1747, one of his Afghán officers, named Ahmad Sháh, of the Abdáli or

Duráni clan, founded a powerful empire in Afghánistán and the Punjab. The frequent invasions of India by this potentate (*see* Chap. XV. § 5) have made his name very famous in Indian history. Ahmad Sháh was, indeed, the founder of the Afghán nation; he, almost alone in history, was able to introduce and to maintain order in this region of perpetual anarchy. He left his throne to his son Timur Sháh, who succeeded in overcoming his brother and so preserving his crown; but Timur at his death left no less than twenty-three sons, whose wars again convulsed the country for a long series of years. Three of these sons—Zamán Sháh, Mahmud Sháh, and Sháh Shujá—obtained, each for himself at various intervals, a precarious and short-lived supremacy. It happened that in 1809, when (as narrated above, Chap. XXV. § 3) Lord Minto wished to execute a treaty with the Duráni monarch of Kábul, Sháh Shujá had for a brief period occupied that position; and it was with Sháh Shujá accordingly that Lord Minto's treaty had been negotiated. But since that time numerous revolutions had occurred in Kábul and Kandahár. In the very year in which Lord Minto's treaty had been signed Sháh Shujá had been driven into exile by his brother, Mahmud Sháh; and although he had endeavoured to regain his throne in 1834, after Mahmud Sháh had been expelled by the powerful clan of the Bárakzais, he had not succeeded in doing so. Fathi Khán Bárakzai, the chief of the clan, had been nominally Mahmud Sháh's vazír, but really the ruler of Afghánistán in the name of that monarch; and when Mahmud Sháh's sons, jealous of the power of the Bárakzai, assassinated Fathi Khán, the fellow-clansmen of the latter rose and drove Mahmud Sháh away to Herát. The Bárakzais, brothers of the deceased Fathi Khán, for a short time agreed to set up another member of the royal family of the Sad-dozaïs; but subsequently they seized the kingdom for themselves, fighting over it and killing each other, until at last victory remained with the ablest of the brothers, named DOST MUHAMMAD. At the time of Lord Auckland's

accession Dost Muhammad was the ruler of most of Afghánistán.

Lord Auckland at first tried to conciliate Dost Muhammad ; but when he found that that chief was not inclined to be friendly to the English he determined to help Sháh Shujá (who had all along been friendly, and who was now living as a British pensioner in India) to recover the throne of Afghánistán.

§ 2. *The Afghán War.*—Lord Auckland took up the cause of Sháh Shujá under the mistaken impression that he was really more popular amongst the people of Afghánistán than Dost Muhammad ; so the army which he sent to invade Afghánistán was not a very strong one. Ranjít Singh, the old ‘Lion of the Punjab,’ as he was often called (*see* Chap. XXV. § 3), promised to help Sháh Shujá with the power of the Sikhs ; but he died soon after, and the Government of the Sikhs fell into disorder.

The British army of invasion was commanded by Sir John Keane, accompanied by Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Macnaghten. They first marched to Kandahár, the capital of Southern Afghánistán, where Sháh Shujá was solemnly put on the throne. They went on to *Ghazní*, which they found to be strongly fortified ; but they blew up one of the big gates with gunpowder, and then took the fortress by storm (1839). They then marched to *Kábul*, which they entered in August 1839 ; and now their task of restoring Sháh Shujá was done, for Dost Muhammad had fled away to the wild country north of Afghánistán. Most of the army now returned to India, a portion remaining to settle the country under Sháh Shujá ; and at the end of the following year (1840) Dost Muhammad gave himself up as a prisoner to Sir William Macnaghten.

After this, for nearly a year, everything seemed peaceful. But, in December 1841, the whole of Afghánistán rose in insurrection against the small garrison of Indian troops, and at length the latter were so surrounded by innumerable and warlike enemies that they were obliged to purchase a

safe retreat by making the most humiliating promises and concessions. The chief leader of the Afgháns was *Akbar Khán*, a son of Dost Muhammad ; and he, with the utmost baseness and treachery, shot Sir William Macnaghten at a conference. The Indian army had not proceeded far in its retreat before the Afgháns broke their solemn promises and fell upon it. The British soldiers, both Europeans and sepoys, defended themselves as well as they could, and struggled on in the midst of the greatest privations, from the piercing cold of these snowy mountain-passes, from the want of food and clothing, and from the terrible difficulties of the roads. But the mountains that overhung all these passes were crowded with treacherous and ferocious Afgháns, who kept up a murderous fire on the unprotected soldiers below ; until at length, with the exception of a few ladies and married officers who surrendered themselves as prisoners to Akbar Khán, and one man who escaped to carry the news to Jalálábád, the disordered and straggling column was literally annihilated.

The disasters of this campaign, in which many British soldiers and sepoys thus miserably perished, spread a gloom over British India, which was not removed until the brilliant successes of General Pollock and the conquest of Kábul under the next Governor-General restored the prestige of the English arms. This has thrown a cloud over the reputation of Lord Auckland, which would otherwise have been an honourable one. His abilities were great ; and before the commencement of the Afghán war his good management had placed the finances of the country in a most flourishing condition. He left India in March 1842.

CHAPTER XXX.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH—THE CONQUEST OF KÁBUL AND
THE ANNEXATION OF SIND.

A.D. 1842—1844.

§ 1. The Conquest of Kábul. § 2. The Conquest of Sind.

§ 3. War with Gwalior.

§ 1. **The Conquest of Kábul.**—Lord Ellenborough succeeded Lord Auckland as Governor-General, and arrived in Calcutta in March 1842. It was now clearly seen that the people of Afghánistán preferred Dost Muhammad to Sháh Shujá as their king; indeed, Sháh Shujá shortly after this was shot by the Afgháns at Kábul and his body thrown into a ditch. So the British Government determined that the Afgháns should be severely punished for their treachery and hostility to the British army, but that in future they should be allowed to choose what king they liked without any interference from India, provided always they abstained from intriguing with foreign enemies of India.

During the whole of the time occupied by the miserable retreat of the army from Kábul described in the last chapter, and during the whole of the spring of 1842, a gallant little band of heroes, under a brave general named Sale, had defended themselves in a rickety Afghán fortress at Jalálábád against countless hosts of Afgháns, under the murderer Akbar Khán. They had to contend against innumerable difficulties, for after they had slightly repaired the fortifications an earthquake threw them down again. But the 'Illustrious Garrison,' as they have often been called, once more repaired the breaches in the walls, and not only defended the fort but even sallied forth, routed Akbar Khán and his thousands of Afgháns, and burnt their camp. Another little detachment of British troops held out in like manner at Kandahár, under General Nott, all through the long winter and spring. At length, when the

returning warmth of summer had melted the snow in the passes, and rendered it possible for an Indian army to march again into Afghánistán, General *Pollock*, at the head of a number of English soldiers and Indian sepoy, forced his way through the *Khaibar Pass*. He soon rescued the 'Illustrious Garrison' of Jalálábád, and then marched on against Kábul. Another army had been sent from India through the *Bolan Pass* to rescue General Nott and his soldiers who were in Kandahár; and General Nott, being joined by this new army, took Ghazní, demolished that fortress, and then marched on to meet General Pollock at Kábul. The great bazaar of Kábul was utterly destroyed, as a punishment to the Afgháns for their treachery; and when all resistance throughout the country had been crushed, every important fortress captured, and the English prisoners rescued, it was determined to evacuate the country. The army marched back quietly through the dominions of the Sikhs to Fírúzpúr, in British territory; it had completely restored the glory of the English arms and vindicated the honour of the English Government. Dost Muhammad and the other Afghán prisoners were set at liberty; and for the remainder of his life the Afghán king remembered the lesson taught him by these campaigns, and usually maintained a friendly and respectful attitude towards India.

§ 2. The Conquest of Sind.—During the troubles of the Afghán war the Amírs of Sind had shown many signs of hostility to the English, so Lord Ellenborough now determined to teach them the folly of such conduct.

NOTE.—Sind had been conquered in 1786 by a fierce tribe of Balochis from the mountains of Balochistán, on the western frontier. The Amírs of Sind were the descendants of these Balochi conquerors, and lived as feudal nobles in fortified castles, often cruelly oppressing the conquered people. They were at all times very jealous of the British power, and tried to prevent any trade being carried on between Sind and the British Indian dominions.

Sir Charles Napier was sent as Commander-in-Chief to Sind, with orders to find out clearly whether the Amírs

were really inclined to be friendly or hostile to the English. Soon afterwards, however, a large Sind force attacked the house of Major (afterwards Sir James) Outram, and thus commenced the short Sind war. Sir Charles Napier utterly routed the Amírs and all their forces in two great battles, first at *Miani*, and afterwards at *Haidarábád* (both these towns are in Sind). It was then decided that Sind should be annexed to the British dominions, and that the Amírs should be sent to Benares as State prisoners. This extremely severe sentence was believed by many to be very unjust; and it was thought that Lord Ellenborough ought to have restored the Amírs to power after punishing them for their treachery. As far as the poor inhabitants of Sind were concerned the change was certainly a most happy one, and the country has since greatly increased in wealth and prosperity.

§ 3. War with Gwalior.—During the Afghán and Sind wars the Mahrattas in Gwalior had been growing turbulent. There was an immense and highly disciplined army there, and the young Sindia (the Mahárájá of Gwalior is always called Sindia) was only a little boy. A quarrel as to who should be Sindia's guardian and regent of Gwalior now threatened to plunge Central India into the horrors of a Mahratta civil war, so Lord Ellenborough resolved to interfere, and marched two armies towards Gwalior, expecting that the Mahrattas would immediately submit. The two divisions of the Gwalior army, however, confident in their great numbers and their fine artillery, ventured to resist, and two great battles were fought on the same day, December 29, 1843; one at *Mahárájpur*, and the other at *Panniár*. In both of these battles the English arms were completely triumphant, and all the guns, ammunition, and treasures of the Mahrattas were captured. Ever since that period the Mahárájá of Gwalior has been a loyal feudatory of the Indian Empire.

Lord Ellenborough had had many differences of opinion with the Directors of the East India Company, and in February 1844 he was suddenly recalled.

CHAPTER XXXI.

LORD HARDINGE AND THE FIRST SÍKH WAR.

A.D. 1844—1848.

§ 1. The First Sikh War. § 2. Social Reforms.

§ 1. **The First Sikh War.**—Since the death of Ranjit Singh, in 1839, the Punjab had been in a dreadful state of anarchy and confusion. There had been numerous assassinations amongst the survivors of Ranjít's family and Ministers of State, and many revolutions; and at last Dhúlíp Singh, the son of Ranjít by his favourite wife Chánd Kaur, was set up as Maharájá. The great Sikh Sardárs or Chiefs formed themselves into a Council of State, and the name of the 'Khálsá' (*the pure*) was given to the whole Government. But in 1845 the disorder was as bad as ever, the Maharání Chánd Kaur and the other Sikh leaders were all intriguing for supreme power, while the strong and well-disciplined Sikh army was turbulent and anxious for war.

In the meantime Sir Henry Hardinge (afterwards Viscount Hardinge) had been appointed Governor-General; he landed in India in 1844, and left it in 1847. He had greatly distinguished himself in the wars of Europe against the French, particularly in the Peninsular War, and in the battle of Waterloo, where he had lost an arm. The new Governor-General refused to interfere in the affairs of the Punjab, and was sincerely anxious to maintain peace with the Sikhs; when suddenly the Sikh army of its own accord invaded British territory by crossing the Sutlej, which was at that time the boundary between the English and the Sikh dominions, December 1845. It is believed that the Sikh leaders induced their army to do this in order to relieve themselves from the fear of its turbulence.

Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, joined

afterwards by the Governor-General, immediately marched against the Síkhs, and though much inferior in numbers within a fortnight drove them back across the Sutlej, after two sanguinary battles at *Mudki* and *Firuzshahr*,¹ both of which places are near Firuzpur and close to the frontier of the Punjab. Unfortunately the English army was deficient in ammunition, in guns, and in stores of all kinds, and consequently Sir Hugh Gough was unable fully to follow up the glorious victory of Firuzshahr. And in the meantime the Sikhs again crossed the Sutlej in great force and with seventy guns. At length, however, Sir Harry Smith was sent forward with a small body of troops. He met Guláb Singh, with a strong force of Síkhs, at Baddiwal, but was unable to attack him, whilst the British troops suffered from the Sikh fire. This was regarded by the Síkhs as a victory; so Sir Harry Smith, having in the meantime obtained some reinforcements, marched out to attack the enemy on January 28, 1846, at ALIWAL. The British infantry, by their steady advance, drove the Síkhs into the river; the latter lost fifty-six guns and immense quantities of ammunition and stores of all kinds. Guláb Singh, who had been very confident of the final success of the Sikh arms, now gave up hope, and commenced negotiations with the English leaders; whilst the Cis-Sutlej States immediately declared in favour of the British.

Sir Harry Smith now formed a junction with Sir Hugh Gough; and the latter determined to force the passage of the Sutlej, and to take possession of the Punjab. The Síkhs had entrenched themselves on both sides of the Sutlej, at SOBRAON, above Firuzpur. The Commander-in-Chief, having received a siege-train from Delhi and plenty of ammunition and supplies, drew up his forces in the form of a crescent along the Sikh front, and commenced the attack before daybreak on February 10, 1846. For three hours there was a terrific cannonade on both sides; and then Sir Hugh Gough ordered the British troops to charge

¹ Often called in histories *Ferozeshah*.

the entrenchments of the enemy. Tej Singh fled; but the aged Shám Singh, in white garments, devoted himself to death as a martyr for the Guru, and fell at length on a heap of his slain countrymen. Many thousands of Sikhs gallantly fell at their posts; and it was not till after two hours' fierce fighting at close quarters that the shattered remnants of the Khálsá army fled in helpless confusion across the Sutlej, under the deadly fire of the British artillery.

Three days later (February 13, 1846) the whole British army crossed the Sutlej; and, on February 14, Sir Henry Hardinge issued a proclamation announcing the intentions of the British Government, which were singularly moderate. An interview was accorded to Guláb Síng, the chosen representative of the Khálsá, and the leading Síkh chiefs, at Kasur; and ultimately the young Dhúlip Síng personally made his submission, the citadel of Lahore was occupied by the British troops, and the country submitted on the terms imposed by the conquerors. Sufficient treasure for the payment of all the war expenses was not forthcoming, so Kashmír and Hazára were retained; and ultimately Kashmír was formed into a feudatory State under Guláb Singh of Jammu, who in return paid one million sterling towards this indemnity.

§ 2. Social Reforms.—After all these great and bloody wars, in which the armies of Sind, of Gwalior, and of the Sikhs had been successively annihilated, India enjoyed peace for nearly two years; and Lord Hardinge was able to apply himself to those humane efforts for the suppression of cruel customs with which his name is honourably connected. The horrible crimes of thuggee, infanticide, *sati*, and human sacrifices were still prevalent in many parts of India (see Introduction, § 93). Of the last the most famous were the *Meriah* sacrifices in Gumsar, amongst the Kandhs and other non-Aryan tribes of Orissa, Gondwána, and the hills and forests of Central India. These were now suppressed. Free trade was at this time promoted by the

abolition of *octroi* duties; that is, of taxes paid for importing food and other merchandise into some of the large towns of India.

Lord Hardinge left Calcutta early in 1848. During his short administration he had gained the affections of all classes; and his name will always be remembered with respect as that of a skilful and gallant soldier and a no less able and beneficent politician.

CHAPTER XXXII.

LORD DALHOUSIE—THE SECOND SÍKH WAR.

A.D. 1818—1856.

§ 1. The Second Sikh War. § 2. The Annexations of Pegu, Nágpur, and Oudh. § 3. Social Progress in India under Lord Dalhousie's rule.

§ 1. *The Second Sikh War.*—The Earl of Dalhousie was appointed to succeed Lord Hardinge, in the hope that he would be able to secure peace to India after the recent bloody wars. His administration lasted from 1848 to 1856, and is chiefly famous for the vast additions made to the British Indian Empire, by the annexations of the Punjab, of Pegu, in Burma, of Oudh, of Tanjore, of Nágpur, of Satára, and of Jhánsi. The policy of increasing the British Empire in India by annexing other States, though not originated by Lord Dalhousie, was carried to the greatest extent by him. This policy was generally adopted out of pity for the oppressed inhabitants of the States annexed; but it has long been abandoned by the Government.

The turbulence of the Sikhs soon made it clear to the new Governor-General that another Sikh war was inevitable; and he determined to prosecute it with vigour, and to take possession of the Punjab, so as to render it impossible for the Sikh soldiery again to disturb the peace of India. The speech which he is said to have made on

coming to this conclusion is a famous one: 'I have wished for peace; I have longed for it; I have striven for it. But if the enemies of India desire war, war they shall have; and, on my word, they shall have it with a vengeance!'

The outbreak of the Síkhs began in Multán, where two British officers were assassinated and preparations made for defending the fortress; and the flame of insurrection soon spread throughout the Punjab. A young Englishman named Lieutenant Edwardes (afterwards Sir Herbert Edwardes), who was stationed near Multán, immediately collected some troops and prepared to attack Multán; and soon the Commander-in-Chief of the British army, Lord Gough, was in the field with a large force. Multán was taken by storm, and after a bloody and indecisive battle at *Chillianwallah*, Lord Gough succeeded in utterly defeating the Sikh army in the victory of GUJARÁT (February 1849), which is a small town in the Doáb between the Chenáb and the Jhelam. The Síkhs had been joined by a powerful body of Afghán cavalry, who had been sent to help them by Dost Muhammad, the old foe of the English. The battle of Gujarát was remarkable, because it was won almost entirely by the tremendous fire of the English artillery. For two days a terrific storm of cannon-balls and shells pounded the Sikh lines and cut down the brave Síkhs by thousands; till at last the whole Sikh army fled before the English troops. All that remained were at last compelled to give themselves up at various places in the Punjab as prisoners to the English. Amongst those who surrendered was Sher Singh, the chief Sikh commander; and a brave English general named Gilbert, who was one of the best of the leaders under Lord Gough, chased Dost Muhammad's Afghán cavalry across the Indus and as far as the entrance to the Khaibar Pass.

Lord Dalhousie determined to annex the Punjab to the British Indian Empire, now that the Síkhs were thoroughly defeated; for he saw that that brave people, as long as they were ill-governed, would be a continual source of

trouble both to the Punjab and to Hindustan. The Mahá-rájá Dhúlíp Singh signed a treaty in full Darbár, by which he gave up the sovereignty to the English, receiving in return a large pension; and he has since lived a quiet and useful life in England as an English landowner. The Punjab was put under the rule of a Board of English Commissioners, of whom Sir Henry Lawrence was the chief, and his brother, John Lawrence (afterwards Lord Lawrence, and Governor-General of India), was the second. Ever since that time it has been well and justly governed; the Sikhs have been some of the most loyal subjects of the British Crown, and the Punjab has rapidly grown in wealth and importance.

§ 2. *The Annexations of Pegu, Nágpur, and Oudh.*—Other annexations soon followed that of the Punjab. The second Burmese War, which broke out in 1852, was caused by the arrogance of the King of Ava, who was so foolish as to think that he might insult and injure British subjects with impunity; and the result was that all the maritime provinces of Burma (called Pegu, which is now a part of the flourishing Chief Commissionership of British Burma) were conquered and annexed in 1852 to the other provinces that had been ceded to the English in the First Burmese War. In the following year, 1853, Nágpur was also annexed, because the Mahratta Rájá had died without heirs and without having adopted a son.

In 1856 the great and populous kingdom of Oudh was also annexed. By the treaty of 1801 it had been placed under the protection of the British, and the King had been guaranteed security as long as he ruled well and peaceably. But the government had gone from bad to worse; and the anarchy and oppression in Oudh had been such as to endanger the peace of the surrounding British districts. The sufferings of the people themselves were terrible, and the British guarantee prevented their rising in insurrection with any prospect of success. Every dictate of humanity and prudence was in favour of annexation; Lord Dal-

housie advised it, with the unanimous consent of his Council. The Home Government ordered that the province should be annexed; and the ex-king was transferred to Calcutta with a pension.

§ 3. *Social Progress.*—A wonderful degree of progress marks the administration of Lord Dalhousie, both in civilisation and material prosperity. The first Indian railway was opened in 1853; and railways and telegraph-lines began rapidly to spread over the whole country. Vast schemes of education were set on foot; Universities were ordered to be founded; and the Presidency College in Calcutta was established in 1855. Gigantic schemes of Public Works, too, of a useful kind—such as great public buildings, roads, and canals—were planned, and large sums of money borrowed for them. The crime of extracting evidence from accused persons by torturing them was stringently put down, and earnest endeavours were made to do full justice to all classes. Indeed, during the brilliant and vigorous administration of Lord Dalhousie, which lasted eight years, from 1848 to 1856, was thoroughly inaugurated that equitable and honourable system of governing India with a single view to the happiness and prosperity of the people which has been conscientiously followed up by every succeeding Governor-General.

Lord Dalhousie left Calcutta on the 6th of March 1856. His health was utterly broken down by his labours and anxieties, and he died within a few years; but his fame will always endure as one of the greatest of the Governors-General of British India.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

LORD CANNING—THE SEPOY MUTINY.

A.D. 1856—1862.

§ 1. The Sepoy Mutiny. § 2. Abolition of the East India Company's Rule.

§ 1. **The Sepoy Mutiny.**—Lord Canning was appointed to succeed Lord Dalhousie as Governor-General; and he arrived in Calcutta on the 29th of February 1856. The history of his administration is chiefly connected with the 'Sepoy Mutiny,' which broke out in 1857, and which resulted in the abolition of the rule of the East India Company, and in the assumption of the direct Government of India by Her Gracious Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Empress of India. The events of the great Mutiny are still so recent that I shall not attempt to give more than a very brief outline of them. The broad general points that should be remembered by the student with regard to the Mutiny are—(1) Except perhaps in Oudh, the rising was strictly a *mutiny*, not a *rebellion*—i.e. it was an insurrection of traitorous *soldiers* of the Native Bengal Army, and was rarely joined in by any other part of the population except through fear or under compulsion. (2) The majority of the princes and chiefs of India displayed, throughout this perilous time, a noble spirit of patriotism and of fidelity to the British Indian Government—in many cases arming their retainers and giving every assistance to the authorities in resisting the outrages of the mutineers. The most prominent amongst these loyal chiefs were the Mahārāja Sindia of Gwalior, the Mahārāja of Jaipur, those of Kapurthala, Patiala, and many other great Sikh Rājās and Sardārs. (3) The chief leaders of the mutinous soldiers, who instigated them to commit so many atrocities, were those who hoped to gain by the anarchy and disorder which would follow the subversion of the British power; amongst these the most active were the miscreant Dhundu Pant

(called the Náná Saheb), the adopted son of the last Peshwá, afterwards infamous as the author of the Cawnpore massacre, who hoped to regain the former power of the Mahrattas; whilst the old King of Delhi and his sons entertained a foolish hope of being able to restore the glories of the Mughul dynasty.

These misguided men endeavoured to effect their purpose by circulating the most absurd rumours amongst the regiments of the Native army and amongst the ignorant country people. They pretended that the British Government was determined to annex the whole of India, and to dispossess all the native princes; above all, they pretended that the Government wished to destroy the religions of both Hindus and Musalmáns, and to force all to become Christians. Of course no educated persons could be so foolish as to believe these silly stories; but the ignorant and uneducated sepoys were easily led to think that they were true. Early in 1857 a new kind of rifle was introduced into the Indian army, of which the cartridges had to be greased before they were put into the rifle to load it; and the sepoys were falsely told by these traitors that the cartridges had been greased with the fat of pigs and cows, so as to defile both Musalmáns and Hindus. At length the mutiny suddenly broke out in all its horrors at Mirath on May 10, 1857, and rapidly spread throughout Hindustan and the neighbouring provinces. The chief events were the following:—

(1) The outbreak of the mutiny, and the massacres of Europeans by the sepoys at Mirath, Delhi, Cawnpore, and elsewhere, in May, June, and July 1857.

(2) The siege of Delhi (June to September), and the storming of that fortress by the British troops in September 1857.

(3) The defence of Lucknow by the English residents, and its first relief by the troops under Havelock and Outram in September 1857.

(4) The second relief of Lucknow by Sir Colin Camp-

bell (afterwards Lord Clyde), and the final suppression of the mutiny in Oudh and the neighbouring provinces of Hindustan during the latter part of the year 1857.

(5) The suppression of the mutineers in Central India by Sir Hugh Rose early in 1858.

The story of this 'Sepoy War' is adorned by many instances of the most sublime self-sacrifice, of the most noble fortitude and endurance under circumstances of terrible suffering, of the most wonderful valour in fight on the part of the comparatively few Englishmen who were scattered over the country. Many natives, too, who were loyal to the Government in time of peril, displayed the most remarkable devotion in helping Europeans, and often endured very great sufferings in the discharge of their duty. On the other hand, the story is saddened by instances of the basest ingratitude and treachery, the sepoys often murdering not only men but also large numbers of helpless women and innocent children under circumstances of the greatest brutality; and it is fair to add that the righteous punishment that was justly inflicted on these atrocious murderers was sometimes (I hope not often) sullied by fierce revenge and unnecessary cruelty on the part of the conquerors. Altogether it was a time of great misery for the greater part of Northern India. Fortunately the Punjab was saved from these horrors by the promptitude and determination of the noble band of statesmen and soldiers who were governing that province under Sir John Lawrence. Of these perhaps the greatest was John Nicholson, who afterwards was killed whilst leading the assault on Delhi, and of whom Mr. Temple (now Sir Richard Temple) declared, 'Without John Nicholson, Delhi could not have fallen.'

The central scene of the mutiny was Delhi, where the mutinous sepoys had collected in immense force, and where for some time they sheltered themselves within its stupendous fortress, furnished with inexhaustible supplies of am-

munition and stores. Every loyal person in India was, therefore, glad to hear that its fortifications had been taken by storm on September 14; and the whole city was captured by September 20, 1857. Thus was this great siege successfully carried through by the English troops, aided by some brave Sikh regiments, before a single soldier of the many thousands who were hastening from England to uphold the British power had set foot in India. The old King of Delhi was captured, brought to trial, and transported for life across the sea to British Burma, where he afterwards died. Two of his sons and a grandson were shot, and most of the leaders of the mutineers were shot or hanged.

During all this time a struggle, perhaps the most glorious of the whole war, had been going on at Lucknow, where the Residency was defended by Sir Henry Lawrence, one of the best, most generous, and most heroic men that India has ever known, with a small band of Europeans and loyal natives, against countless hosts of rebels. On July 2 he was killed by the bursting of a shell, but the defence was still maintained with the utmost gallantry. At length General Havelock, after having thrice crossed the Ganges, and after having gained innumerable victories, forced his way through the besieging force, and got into Lucknow on September 25. The chivalrous Sir James Outram had been sent to take command of the relieving army, but he generously refused to supersede Havelock until the city had been relieved, and thus the latter had the pleasure of himself accomplishing that for which he had dared and endured so much.

During the year 1858 the mutiny was gradually crushed in all quarters, and the few remaining bands of mutineers were hunted down; and on July 8, 1859, Lord Canning proclaimed peace, and July 28 was fixed as a day of thanksgiving to God for the happy restoration of order and quiet.

Two short wars, one against Persia and the other against

China, had been waged during 1857 by British Indian troops. The English arms were, of course, entirely successful in each case, and the wars were only of importance because the conclusion of the one (that against Persia), and the fact that English troops were passing near India on their way to the scene of the other war, enabled the Government of Calcutta to send early reinforcements to the North-West.

§ 2. **Abolition of the East India Company's Rule.**—One of the results of the troubles and dangers of the Sepoy Mutiny was that Parliament determined that the British Empire in India should no longer be left in the hands of the East India Company, but that it should be placed directly under the control of Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, and should be governed by a *Viceroy* (or representative of the Queen) in India, and by a Secretary of State in England. In consequence of this change Lord Canning became the first VICEROY of British India, and every Governor-General now bears that higher title. A full description of the present system of administration is given in the Introduction, §§ 66-74.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN.

§ 1. Recent Events. § 2. Lord Canning's Viceroyalty. § 3. Lord Elgin. § 4. Sir John Lawrence. § 5. The Earl of Mayo. § 6. The Earl of Northbrook, the Earl of Lytton, and the Marquis of Ripon.

§ 1. **Recent Events.**—The events that have happened in India since the abolition of the rule of the East India Company have not yet passed into the domain of history. In some cases the policy which dictated the action of the Indian Government is still a subject of dispute between rival authorities; in others the acts of persons still living

form the text of the record. Comment would be obviously out of place in a little work of this nature; a bare enumeration of a few of the more important events must here suffice.

§ 2. **Lord Canning's Viceroyalty.**—Lord Canning left India in March 1862—to die only a few weeks after he reached his native land. During the three years' interval, between the final suppression of the mutiny and the departure of the first Viceroy, most of the great changes brought about by the recent convulsions, and by the transfer of the Government to the Crown, became accomplished facts.

The finances of the Indian Empire, utterly disorganised by the storm of the mutiny, were at this time the object of the greatest solicitude of the Government. An accomplished English financier, named James Wilson, was specially sent out from England in 1861 to be financial member of the Executive Council; and by some very strong and exceptional measures—including the imposition of an income-tax, which was very widely criticised, and urgently opposed by the Governor of Madras, Sir Charles Trevelyan—Mr. Wilson contrived to overcome the pressing financial difficulties of the Empire. He died before the full effects of his measures were felt; and was succeeded as Finance Minister by Mr. Laing, with whose name is associated the establishment of the Indian paper currency.

Amongst the many things done at this time that have subsequently been severely criticised must be mentioned the 'amalgamation' of the English and Indian European forces, by which the local European army was absorbed in the general body of the Queen's forces.

The administration of justice was reformed by the amalgamation of the 'Supreme Court' (the Queen's Court), with the old Sudder Courts of the East India Company; the Bench of the High Courts of Judicature thus formed being occupied partly by Anglo-Indian civilians, partly by English barristers, and partly by emi-

nent native lawyers. And the Penal Code was now finally introduced.

An enormous extension of railways, roads, and irrigation-works was commenced during these years. A terrible famine, in 1860-61, devastated some of the fairest districts of the North-West Provinces and the Punjab; and the humane exertions of Sir Robert Montgomery and other local rulers to meet this distress mark the commencement of the great famine-relief works that are now recognised as a part of the duty of the State in India.

Immense rewards, in the shape both of increased territory and of money, were conferred on the many Princes of the Empire who had displayed their loyalty during the mutiny; honours also were distributed to the most deserving. One of the last public acts of Lord Canning was the bestowal of *Sanads* on those Feudatory Princes who had most distinguished themselves by their loyalty to the British Crown. By these *Sanads* the Indian Chiefs were constituted feudal nobles of the British Empire, and were guaranteed the peaceable enjoyment of their dominions and all their rights and privileges, including the right to adopt a son and heir in case of failure of male issue, provided that they faithfully fulfilled all the promises they had made to the British Government, and maintained their loyalty to their Gracious Sovereign.

§ 3. Lord Elgin.—Lord Elgin succeeded Lord Canning in March 1862, and died in harness, at Dharmasála, in the Punjab, in November 1863. His short rule was not remarkable for any noteworthy event, except the growth of unexpected disaffection to British rule in a small fanatical sect of Muhammadans called *Wahábis*.

The Wahábis are followers of one *Abdul Waháb*, an Arabian reformer, a Muhammadan puritan, who died in 1787. Their principal tenets are: (1) absolute unitarianism, which repudiates all the semi-divine honours sometimes accorded to Muhammad; and (2) absolute reliance on God, and abnegation of self. They have thus an earnest

practical theology which degenerates amongst the ignorant into wild fanaticism; and the latter spirit early showed itself in their actions when they sacked the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina, and desecrated the central mosques of Islam. An Indian disciple of Abdul Waháb, named *Sayyid Ahmad*, with a small following of his own, preached the doctrines of his master in India early in the present century, and roused the fanaticism of his converts by teaching them that *Jihád*, or religious war for the extirpation of infidels, was incumbent on all true Musalmáns. In course of time Patna became the secret centre of a considerable Wahábi organisation; and far away on the Afghán frontier, at *Sittána*, they established at this time a rebel camp, regularly supplied with men and money from Patna and other centres within British territory. In passing sentence on one of the rebels Sir Herbert Edwardes said of the Wahábis that 'instead of appealing to reason and to conscience, like his Hindu fellow-countrymen in Bengal of the Bráhma Samáj, the Wahábi seeks his end in political revolution, and madly plots against the Government which probably saved the Muhammadans of India from extinction, and certainly brought in religious freedom.' In 1863 there was a campaign against these *Sittána* fanatics, commonly called 'the Umbeyla campaign.' The Indian troops under General Chamberlain burnt the head-quarters of the fanatics, after a stout resistance, both from the *Sittána* men and from their Afghán neighbours who joined them.

§ 4. *Sir John Lawrence*.—The successor to Lord Elgin was chosen during the period when the Wahábi disturbances were attracting much attention, and the choice of the Government fell on Sir John Lawrence; whose admirable administration of the Punjab during the mutiny has already been noticed. Sir John became Viceroy in January 1864; Sir William Denison, the Governor of Madras, having according to rule wielded the Viceregal power during the interregnum.

One of the first events of the new Viceroyalty was a

petty war with *Bhotán*. The Bhotiyas had long been in the habit of raiding on British territory and of kidnapping British subjects. A mission sent into Bhotán by Lord Elgin in 1863 had produced no good effects, and had been treated with indignity. So, on the advice of the British Envoy, Mr. Eden (subsequently Sir Ashley Eden, and Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal), a campaign was undertaken, which effectually taught these savages to respect the power of the Indian Empire.

The most important and the most warmly debated part of Sir John Lawrence's policy was that which concerned our relations with Afghanistan. The old Amir, Dost Muhammad, died in 1863; and from that time till the final success of his son Sher Ali in 1868 an internecine warfare was waged amongst the various sons of the old Dost. Until 1868, Sir John Lawrence acted on the principle of always recognising the *de facto* ruler or rulers of this turbulent country, but of giving them no help towards the maintenance of their power. In 1868, however, he so far deviated from this policy as to give the successful combatant, Sher Ali Khán, important assistance in the shape of money and arms.

The introduction and improvement of municipal self-government, in the various provinces of India, received much attention from Sir John Lawrence; as also did the tenant-rights of cultivators in Oudh and the Punjab. Among the peaceful triumphs of Sir John Lawrence's reign Sir Richard Temple's administration of the Central Provinces from 1862 to 1865 is, perhaps, most famous. During those years the foundations of the future prosperity of that vast and hitherto little-known region were firmly laid.

In Bombay the enormous demand for raw cotton, produced by the outbreak of the American Civil War, caused a marvellous influx of wealth in 1862-63 and a few subsequent years; this in turn produced a wild speculative mania, which resulted in a most disastrous commercial crisis

in 1865-66. The cotton export trade has, however, subsequently become established on a stable basis.

Sir John Lawrence on his retirement in 1868 was raised to the peerage as Lord Lawrence.

§ 5. **The Earl of Mayo.**—At the beginning of 1869 the Earl of Mayo succeeded as Viceroy of India. The appointment was at first much criticised; but very soon Lord Mayo became one of the most popular Viceroys that has ever ruled, and it may now be confidently asserted that no Englishman has ever been so warmly beloved by the Native Princes as a class.

He began well, by a success in his dealing with the difficult Afghán question. The Amir Sher Ali Khán came down to visit him at Ambála (Umballa), was entertained in a princely manner, and ever after was undoubtedly the warm personal friend of Lord Mayo. The strong point of this Viceroyalty was the introduction of a true spirit of friendship into the relations between the Indian Empire and its Feudatory Princes; and, amongst other lasting pledges of this spirit may be mentioned the establishment by Lord Mayo of an 'Indian Eton'—a college at Ajmer for the higher education of the scions of the princely families of Rájputána. And there was also much progress in the internal administration of British India; the finances were (by some stringent measures, not adopted without much adverse criticism) put on a satisfactory footing; a special Department of the State (recently incorporated with the other older departments) was established for the encouragement of agriculture and commerce; and there was a very wide extension of railways, telegraphs, metalled roads, and works of irrigation.

The tragical end of Lord Mayo's Viceroyalty is well known; this beloved ruler was assassinated by a fanatical convict, who had been transported for murder, at Port Blair, in the Andaman Isles, in February 1872.

§ 6. **The Earl of Northbrook, the Earl of Lytton, and the Marquis of Ripon.**—After a short interregnum (during

which the Viceregal power was held temporarily, first by Sir John Strachey, and afterwards by Lord Napier of Merchistoun) Lord Northbrook arrived in India as Viceroy, and ruled until early in 1876, when he was succeeded by Lord Lytton. Lord Lytton's reign lasted until June 1880, when he in turn was succeeded by the Marquis of Ripon. Of the events of this period the barest enumeration of the most important must here suffice. A visit of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh to India in Lord Mayo's time was followed by the famous progress of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales in 1875-76, which undoubtedly did much to draw closer the ties of affection and loyalty between the princes and peoples of India and the Imperial dynasty. Lord Northbrook's rule was distinguished, too, by the success of the measures adopted to meet the terrible Bengal Famine of 1873-74. The still more terrible famine of 1877-78 in Madras and Bombay was met with equal determination by the Government of Lord Lytton; and a Commission has subsequently been appointed to examine and report upon the principles which in future must guide the action of the State in the relief of famine—that relief being now at length fully recognised as a sacred duty of Government. At the Imperial Assemblage of Delhi, on January 1, 1877, Her Majesty the Queen was proclaimed EMPRESS OF INDIA; and by this gorgeous ceremony public and formal recognition was accorded to a fact that had long been tacitly acknowledged and acted upon.

With the mention of this auspicious event we will end our narrative. For the present the real *history* of India may still be said to terminate with the Royal Proclamation of November 1858—all subsequent occurrences being too recent for any judgment to be passed on them. For this reason we gladly revert, for the conclusion of this little book, to the gracious words, full of dignity and benevolence, of that Proclamation: 'When by the blessing of Providence the internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is Our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of

India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its Government for the benefit of all Our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be Our strength, in their contentment Our security, and in their gratitude Our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to Us, and to those in authority under Us, strength to carry out these Our wishes for the good of Our people.'

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